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ABSTRACT

Seventeen papers presented at a symposium on "Mexican Americans and Educational Change" funded by Project Follow Through, U.S. Office of Education, are contained in this document. The papers deal with such topics as educational change in historical perspective, politics of educational change, cultural democracy, bicultural education, bilingual education, and parental involvement in education. The contributors of the papers represent a broad spectrum of scholarship and expertise and are associated with a variety of universities throughout the Southwest and with the Federal Government. The document also contains a key note address by Armando Rodriguez. (NQ)

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MEXICAN AMERICANS
AND
EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

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Symposium
at the
University of California, Riverside
May 21-22, 1971

Sponsored
by
Mexican-American Studies Program
University of California, Riverside
and
Project Follow Through
United States Office of Education

Edited
by
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PREFACE

The schools of our nation are in the midst of a number of highly constructive mini-revolutions, one of the most exciting of which is the bilingual-bicultural "revolution." This revolution is being led by courageous, committed educators, and community people who are not willing to have their children develop fear and shame because of their language and their heritage. Perhaps the importance of bilingual-bicultural education is best expressed in the poignant words of a Mexican-American child to her mother. This little girl, who was enrolled in the Cucamonga bilingual-bicultural program, told her mother, "Mama, it's all right. You can visit my school. They talk like you do."

We educators have discussed for generations the importance of individualizing instruction in our schools. But unfortunately our discussions and writings have been largely theoretical and seldom have had major impact on the classroom. Nowhere is the disparity between our abstract concern for individual differences and actual school practice greater than in the procedures we have used in educating the child whose home language is not English. Not only have we insisted that this child abandon the language of his home; far too often we have also made him feel as if his entire cultural heritage was suspect.

The practice of causing the child to reject his heritage is no longer tolerable. It is as Lydia R. Aguirre has stated. "We Mexican Americans have banded together to challenge the educational system to recognize our 'differentness.' We have challenged ourselves to be proud of that differentness. We have challenged the educational system to teach Hispanic history, to teach bilingually, and to give us adequate schools where schools are largely Mexican American. We demand not to be segregated. We demand that others recognize our differentness and work within that differentness rather than make us suppress our Mexican-American ideals and adopt Anglo-Saxon ideals."

It was in recognition of the need to foster bilingual-bicultural education that the Follow Through Program funded Dr. Manuel Ramírez' highly successful, developmental program for elementary children; it was in further recognition of this need that Follow Through funded the symposium "Mexican Americans and Educational Change."

Although this conference was oriented explicitly toward Mexican-American education, one could not attend the conference without coming to the realization that in fighting for recognition of their own language and cultural differentness, Mexican Americans are serving not only themselves but all

Americans. For our people represent a great many different cultural backgrounds and it behooves each of us to be more aware and proud of his own heritage. This extended, multicultural concept is not discussed extensively in the papers presented but it is implicit in several.

The symposium, "Mexican Americans and Educational Change" served as a forum for a mutual and beneficial exchange of research and ideas relevant to the issues of early childhood education and parental involvement of Mexican Americans. It is an invaluable aid to those seeking solutions to the educational problems of all people.

The ensuing discussion of the issues: educational change in historical perspective; the politics of educational change; the challenge of bicultural education; and the challenge of bilingual education will help widen our vision toward understanding and working with people from multicultural backgrounds.

Robert L. Egbert
Director, Project Follow Through,
United States Office of Education

Washington, D.C.

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume consists of seventeen papers presented at a symposium on "Mexican Americans and Educational Change" at the University of California, Riverside, on May 21-22, 1971. This symposium, sponsored by UCR's Mexican-American Studies Program, was made possible through a grant awarded to Professor Manuel Ramírez by Project Follow Through of the United States Office of Education. Dr. Robert Egbert, Director of Project Follow Through, has kindly prepared the preface to these published proceedings.

The idea for a symposium on the educational needs of Mexican-American children stemmed from the belief that the level of scholarship and expertise in this field has developed to such an extent that it merited this kind of forum. The contributors to the present volume represent a broad spectrum of scholarship and expertise and are associated with a variety of universities throughout the Southwest and with the Federal Government.

In the collective mind of the editors, this symposium will be the first of an annual series dealing with selected aspects of education as it relates to Mexican-American school children. By design, the contributions to the present volume deal with broader issues. Subsequent symposia will be concerned with specific issues in considerably greater detail.

Public education in America finds itself in the eye of a storm generated by the mounting issues of integration, desegregation, community control of the schools, the role of ethnic studies in the curriculum, and how, what, and by whom are the children of America's minority poor to be taught. Thus, while the present volume devotes itself to Mexican-American children, the perceptive reader will find that the issues described have more than a passing communality with the educational plight of Black Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and children of the Anglo-American poor, as well as with other of America's ethnic minorities. In this sense, the editors of the present volume feel that it is of more general interest than its title implies.

On behalf of the program committee (Professors Manuel Ramírez, Carlos Cortés, Mark Hanson, and Mario Barrera), I wish to extend a special note of thanks to Chancellor Ivan Hinderaker for his encouragement and support. A special note of graditude is clearly in order to Vice Chancellor Carlo Golino for his introductory remarks to the symposium in behalf of Chancellor Hinderaker.

Armando Rodriguez, Assistant Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education, graciously rearranged an arduously busy schedule to personally deliver the keynote address, which appears in this volume. Innumerable people contributed generously in order to make the conference a success and assisted in the variety of tasks necessary to bring this volume to its completed stages. The following are deserving of special mention: Teresa Rios, David Serrano, Rosa McGrath, Diane Radke, Barbara Jackson, Ernesto Lopez, Claudia Lopez, Janice Runquist, Patricia Fanno, Donald Miller, and Armando Mena.

Alfredo Castañeda
Program Chairman

Riverside, California
July 1971

I

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

EDUCATION: "A FUTURISTIC GOAL"

by

Armando M. Rodriguez*

I suspect that anyone who assumes the task of trying to identify where a movement may be, clearly reveals his naiveness. However, this does not mean that we should not try to do so. For the very attempt to describe a problem is as essential to man, in his pursuit to understand himself and his brothers, as his attempts to solve his problems. I submit, therefore, that educational change is real and that it is measurable; that it has three major ingredients: attitude, behavior, and results. A look at the agenda for the symposium indicates heavy emphasis on the first two ingredients. This focus reflects the perceptive view of those who have organized this meeting. It demonstrates that we are reasonably able to pose some honest statements on attitude and behavior, but that there may be a lack of unanimity regarding what is measurable and how it can be measured. Lack of unanimity should not deter us from our quest, however; yet neither should it prohibit us from attempting to analyze the results. The very process of analysis may provide the keys for finding the instruments for measurement.

---

*Armando M. Rodriguez is Assistant Commissioner for Regional Office Coordination, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

What has happened in the past decade is, I believe, clearly visible as it implies to the education of Mexican Americans. When I went to Washington almost four years ago, there was little awareness of the fact that a real problem existed in the area of the education of Mexican Americans. Moreover, there was no reservoir of information regarding suggested techniques and materials for the education of Mexican-American youth (children). In short, I entered a wasteland devoid of sensitivity, knowledge, and even the desire to know anything about us.

Our first task, then, was to make ourselves visible; our second was to demonstrate that we intended to be heard. Our third was to question all policies as they related to the education of the Mexican American. Our last was to help educate the policy-makers, so that the malpractices of the past would not be continued.

We can say with some assurance that the first three tasks have been accomplished. This has been demonstrated by Health, Education, and Welfare's development of programs aimed at providing greater educational opportunities for Mexican Americans, _in partnership_ with Mexican Americans, rather than for Mexican Americans. In short, we are now seen as equals when it comes to policy determination, with a right to veto power, rather than as _peónes_, who should be thankful for the attention of the "_patrón_."

What accounts for this penetration to those parts of government where behavior and attitude meet? I would like to suggest three instruments that contributed to this substantial change. First, the recognition that the Mexican American is a thread in the national fabric of our society; that he is an asset to the society and that he has a rightful place in that society. Certainly one of the most concrete evidences of this has been the establishment of the National Task Force de La Raza, the activating of the National Advisory Committee on the Education of the Mexican American and Spanish Speaking. Another equally important landmark is the series of Chicano Ethnic Institutes developed during the past two years and marked by the creation of the Chicano Ethnic Studies Concilio and the Chicano Mobile Institutes. With these vehicles we have been able to concentrate our efforts on developing projects and policies in conjuction with those areas of government in which behavior and attitude meet.

A tremendous amount of data has been collected during the past five years. It has documented the condition of the Mexican American, and has been disseminated far and wide. No longer can those who have some role in effecting educational change, whether it be at the local, State, or national level, retreat from their duty on the excuse of insufficient information. I note that in the next two days you will have an opportunity to hear from a large number of my colleagues who have helped to develop and disseminate this information. My experience has been that one of the major reasons we were not able to penetrate the ignorance of government until recently was because of the great gap between our feelings that we were right and the lip service given to our suggestions, and our inability to substantiate our claims with evidence which mandated behavioral change. Even when we cited our own experiences, they could be countered with, "Since you've made it, it's reasonable to assume that the present system is all right. Why change it?" Given this question, we were rendered mute. However, Dr. Carter's book, Dr. Ramirez' study with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and all of the extremely important projects carried on at college and university centers, gave us the voice we needed to silence the cry of "Give me some hard data that I can sink my teeth into." We have the data, we can substantiate our claims, we can move from idea to change in attitude; and if we don't get the attitudinal change we would like, we can get the behavioral change in the form of a program, a project, a policy change and/or monies.

If I had a dollar bill for every time that a prospective employer, in government and out of government, has said to me, "Armando, find me a well-qualified Mexican American, and I'll hire him," or, "Armando, if all Mexican Americans were like you, there would be no race problem!" I would be a rich man. What each of those individuals failed to realize was that:

1. Every Mexican American has the right to be seen as an individual, just as every Anglo feels he has that same right.

2. Society has the obligation of providing each Mexican-American child with the opportunity to gain a skill and to utilize that skill for his individual and collective well-being.

However, reaching this goal is another problem. What we have been able to do is far short of the goal, but it has established a pattern which we hope would be continued in the future. We have made ourselves highly visible; this has entailed addressing educational forums such as this, to make the educational community's awareness of what it was not doing, and what we felt it should be doing. We have established avenues of communication with the Mexican-American communities across the country, such that we could tap the reservoir of talent presently available, and by doing so, offer positive role-models for the youth of these communities as an incentive to get an education, to return to their respective communities, and then to join us in our battle to bring the needed changes in education, so that the future would be brighter for our children and grandchildren. Thus, we can say, that a pool of talented Mexican Americans is a reality, and that that pool is ever-increasing.

What have we said this morning? We have shown the nature of the politics of change as it has affected us and our relationships with the offices of government and their personnel. We have indicated the areas of concern on our part, which we felt were primarily arenas for activism. We have shown that we were marginally successful in as much as we were able to change attitudes, modify behaviors, and deliver programs and monies. But what of the future?

Just a few weeks ago some of us in the Office of Education developed some objectives for the U.S. Office of Education for the next couple of years. We came up with six proposals:

1. That USOE develop and implement a federal strategy of education to meet the special needs of economically disadvantaged children by such things as the creation of federal incentives to increase the State contributions to the education of the economically disadvantaged.

2. That it is urgent to eliminate racial, ethnic, and cultural barriers to educational opportunities.

3. That there be developed at least three demonstration projects to evaluate the effectiveness of alternative career education programs.

4. That OE create a national commitment to providing equal opportunity to all handicapped children by 1980.

5. That the Comissioner stimulate the development of innovative and effective approaches to all levels of education.

6. That USOE clean its own house, by improving management of its programs, such that it can deliver its services

to its clients without the unusually long time lapses that we are all by now accustomed to.

But these are only the beginning. All of this effort will come to naught, unless each of us here today resolve to take on the challenge of bringing meaningful changes to our educational system, not only as it affects Mexican-American children, but all children. It is this that provides the stuff from whence excitement comes and grows, that provides the encouragement to our young and the meaning to our lives. It is not for the faint-hearted, it is not for the undaring; it is for those who are willing to dare, to try, to stumble, and perhaps fall. And that, I submit, is what this conference is all about.

Muchas gracias y buena suerte mis amigos.

II

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

by

Carlos E. Cortés

In his book, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect, Thomas P. Carter summarizes the historical relationship between the Mexican American and the United States educational system in the following terms:

> Historically, the Southwest school took cognizance of the Mexican-American child very belatedly. Considerable time elapsed before it was recognized that people of Mexican descent were here to stay instead of coming and going across the border as migrants. The mass immigration of the 1920's presented the educational apparatus with formidable problems and bought consideration of ethnic groups to the fore. When the school did begin to concern itself with the children of this minority group, it proceeded to fit them into a rigidly conceived system, instead of attempting to adjust the system to the needs of the group. This approach, intentionally or otherwise, served to make the educational system conform to the pressure of the Southwest society for perpetuating the low socioeconomic standing of Mexican Americans.[1]

Carter's disturbing analysis provides a frame of reference for the following three papers, which examine the historical failures of U.S. education and present ideas for its reform.

George I. Sánchez, "dean" of the Chicano educational movement and for nearly half a century a paladin of educational reform, issues a severe indictment of U.S. society in his discussion of the education of Mexican-American children.

Reviewing what he cynically terms "Educational Change in Historical Perspective," Sánchez writes, "while I have seen some changes and improvements in this long-standing dismal picture, I cannot in conscience or as a professional educator take any satisfaction in those developments. The picture is a shameful and embarrassing one."

In the second paper, Alfredo Castañeda explores some of the historical reasons for this failure of the U.S. educational system. He describes the long struggle of "Melting Potters vs. Cultural Pluralists," while offering an educational alternative--democratic cultural pluralism. According to Castañeda, U.S. education, by inculcating the melting pot "message of /Anglo-American/ cultural superiority," has seriously harmed the Mexican-American child. On the other hand, attempts to implement cultural pluralism in education have traditionally fallen short of providing democratic cultural pluralism--"the right of each child to experience an educational environment which accepts his preferred modes of relating, communicating, motivation, and learning." To bring true cultural democracy to the classroom, U.S. education must permit the child "to explore freely modes of the mainstream culture by means of those preferred modes he brings to school from his home and community."

Finally, Mark Hanson examines "Cultural Democracy, School Organization and Educational Change" and ponders a critical question: is democratic cultural pluralism compatible with the traditions which have shaped U.S. education? His answer is no and yes--no, if education continues under the domination of the conservative essentialist philosophical tradition which "concentrates its energies on structuring a learning package which is independent of the individual learning characteristics of any one person; yes, if education becomes permeated by the liberal philosophical tradition of educational progressivism which views learning as "dependent on the individual characteristics of the learner rather than vice versa." Hanson feels that the future of democratic cultural pluralism in education may well depend upon the outcome of this century-old ideological struggle between conservative essentialism and liberal progressivism.

As a group, these three papers present an inescapable conclusion--that the Mexican-American child has suffered continuously at the hands of the U.S. educational system. Clearly, the educational past has been, in George Sánchez' words, "shameful and embarrassing." Alfredo Castañeda and Mark Hanson see democratic cultural pluralism as a hope for ending this shame.

FOOTNOTE

[1] Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), p. 13.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

George I. Sánchez*

I am afraid that I am the wrong person to be asked to speak on this topic. While I have championed the cause of educational change for American children of Mexican descent for more than forty-five years, and while I have seen some changes and improvements in this long-standing dismal picture, I cannot, in conscience or as a professional educator, take any satisfaction in those developments. The picture is a shameful and an embarrassing one.

True, lately, in response to the enticements of "free" monies from federal, state, and foundation sources, there have been set up a few "showcases," and a few seemingly, and some truly authoritative publications. Some of those present at this conference, including myself, have striven hard and conscientiously to make those "showcases" and publications arouse an apathetic public, an uninformed profession, and the ever-resilient (mercurial is a better word) politicians to the realities presented by the American of Mexican descent. I said it (in print) over thirty years ago; I've said it repeatedly through the years: my people are still a forgotten people.

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*George I. Sánchez is Professor of Latin American Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education, College of Education, University of Texas, Austin.

Am I cynical? I am (though not defeatist). A simple illustration from Texas, where we have the worst migrant labor situation in the nation--nearly all Mexican Americans: federal government, under the new funds for the education and health of migrant children and adults, in 1969, gave the great state of Texas $3,000,000 to alleviate their condition. It was returned to Washington because, as Texas authorities put it, "It came too late (February) in the school year!" Hell! I can take three million bucks and, in three weeks, commit it to badly needed health and educational programs for migrants. Make it five million! The other day I heard a Texas education official tell my graduate class, with pride, that there were only four segregated schools (on separate campuses) for migrants in the state! He, of course, could not even estimate other forms of segregation for migrant or other Mexican-American children--"neighborhood schools," "ability grouping" (based on so-called non-applicable tests), "language handicap (so-called)," and so on. That official, certainly friendly to our cause, is evaluating with criteria initiated in an ambience, a climate where limited and minor decency is regarded as revolutionary.

So what do we have? I speak only of Texas. I'll let my neighbors wash their own dirty linen in public (oh, it is dirty, too!). In Texas, the education of Mexican-American children is a scandal to the jay-birds! I won't tire you with details--but examine curricula, teacher education, textbooks, state administration. Why recently, the Governor stated publicly: "Mexicans like to live in slums!" The so-and-so.

These migrants are such a problem! But, why are the children migrants? And why, as in Texas, must they be given a second-rate (and, even, a segregated) education (if at all)? I have thought that segregation was ruled "unconstitutional."

"Educational Change in Historical Perspective?" Oh, yes, I read that the average years of schooling of Mexican Americans has increased. Fine, but so has that of the rest of the population. Relatively, we are at a standstill. That is "educational change?" (I'll have to learn English and logic all over again.)

I've long enjoyed Steinbeck's Tortilla Flat, both as fine literature and as history and sociology. Is Tortilla Flat no longer on the California scene? I haven't lived here in some years, but not too long ago I saw the "Flat" here and there; I saw segregation. I remember the Mendez case.

I read of the heroic efforts of César Châvez. And, as I read him, he is interested in educational change--though he does not couch his program in pedagogical terms; though he has a fine sense of historical philosophy. What is he fighting for? Dollars and cents? I don't think so. I think he is fighting for human dignity, for economic equity, for mutual respect among fellow men.

I began teaching in 1923, in a one-room (eight grades) school in the mountains east of Albuquerque. With only a high school diploma! Others had started with less--some were semi-illiterates who had political drag. I moved on to other schools, principalships, state jobs in education, etc. I am now impressed at my freedom then as to curriculum, method, schedule, and so on. I recall that there were no arbitrary rules as to promotion practices--the teacher and the principal decided on that. Is it any wonder, then, that I shudder at the thought of making teaching "scientific?" I.Q.-ing the child and computerizing him? Abiding blindly by such stupid mechanics drives me to drink!

So much for bias. Now for a smidgen of history. I won't go back to Plato, Aristotle, or even to the great John Amos Comenius. Rousseau? Yes, we could spend time very profitably on his "Education According to Nature," his Emile, and on his Social Contract. But that would only sadden us more. For after all these years, centuries, we still treat Mexican-American children according to John Locke's Tabula Rasa concept, that the child's mind is a blank, a vacuum into which the school pours knowledge, education. Why we don't even practice the mechanistic, though for the times progressive, ideas of the philosopher-psychologist John Heinrich Herbart, to say nothing of the experimentalism and the pragmatism of John Dewey. As a matter of fact, few educators of executive consequences have more then a fleeting acquaintance with these thinkers and their works. So the educators deal with the Mexican-American child as does the foreman who supervises the assembly line where toilet seats are put together.

In colleges of education, we aren't even aware of the achievements of Spaniards, of Indians, of Indo-Hispanic Mexicans, and Mexican Americans. Who tells Mexican-American children about Juan Luis Vives, about Pedro de Gante, about Alonso de la Vera Cruz, and about Rafael Ramírez? Who tells them that the first books printed in the Americas were printed in Mexico? That the very first one (1540), Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana, was written in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs? That the Física speculatio, published in Mexico in 1560, set forth the laws of gravity 100 years before Newton? We talk of "bilingual education" as though we were at the head of an educational parade. Hell, we had bilingual dictionaries in Mexico before 1600. In fact, we had teachers' guides on the teaching of reading before 1600. These teachers' guides (Cartilla para enseñar a leer) were tri-lingual, Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl.

We pioneered the West. We mapped and named the mountains, the rivers, the fords; we named the states: Tejas (tiles), Nuevo México, Colorado, California (for the mythical island of Queen Kalifa), Nevada, and so on. We established the settlements: Santa Fe, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pueblo, San Antonio, Las Cruces, San Diego, ad infinitum. Who tells Mexican-American school children this, and explains? Why not? Who tells them that most of the cattle country terminology is Spanish or Indo-Hispanic: rodeo, chaps, arrejos, lariat, mesquite, retama (Palo Verde), adobe (Arabic), etc.? Who tells them of Octaviano Larrazolo, of Atanasio Montoya, of Dionisio Chávez, and of other recent Mexican-American greats?

Educational change? The "Pilgrim Fathers?" "John Smith?" "Patrick Henry?" Put together they wouldn't make one Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, one José María Morelos y Pavón, one Benito Juárez, or would they? Ask the children.

Educational change? Aside from checking curriculum and teacher education, check illiteracy tables, tuberculosis death rates, and lists of high school and college graduates. We cannot disassociate educational development from national policy or national history. The national conscience felt the guilt of the country's treatment of the Indians. So, stupidly, we put them in reservations to rot and die. Oh, yes! We gave them schools--at Haskell, at Fort Wingate, at Riverside, at Albuquerque, at Santa Fe, and later, on the concentration camps (oops! Sorry, reservations). It was our policy of "Manifest Destiny." The only good Indian was a dead Indian.

A school superintendent in South Texas said (see Paul Taylor's Book--An American-Mexican Frontier), when asked why he didn't enforce school attendance laws for Mexican-American children: "Why, they are not even Christians. They are Catholics." Progress, yes. We've had some. A small bit.

Recently, to garner federal funds, Texas set up a bilingual program. You know (please take me seriously) they employed teachers from Mexico! Almost twenty per cent of the Texas population is Mexican American. What a travesty!

Bilingualism? A second language does not, per se, make a person bilingual. He has to be bicultural. He has to know, too, of the Southwest. There are 4,000 Spanish words that are Arabic, and there are many customs and usages that are Middle Eastern, not European, in the Southwest. The al words--alfombra, almohada, alcabala, alajas, alguacil (all Arabic)--to name a few. The truly typical Spanish song is tuned to the Middle Eastern wail. And so on. Is this taught to the kids?

Educational change? I see only feeble attempts here and there. The assembly line, standard mold (middle class, Midwestern, Protestant tradition) still treats Mexican-American children as though they were lumps of inferior clay that, nonetheless, has to be pressed into the mold. I recall the silent movie "Modern Times," starring Charlie Chaplin. He worked all day on an assembly line, tightening a bolt on a gadget--and that is all he did. After work, trudging down a dusty road in his inimitable costume and shuffle, he continued to tighten nonexistent bolts.

With some exceptions, in the education of Mexican-American children, we epitomize what Charlie Chaplin was caricaturing. This is most evident in the education of migrants.

"Educational Change in Historical Perspective?" That is the nonexistent bolt that Chaplin was tightening.

MELTING POTTERS VS. CULTURAL PLURALISTS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

by

Alfredo Castañeda*

From a historical viewpoint, it is worthwhile to note that issues of assimilation have been a center of controversy in the field of public education for most of the twentieth century. In my view, this conference represents the continuation of this controversy but with a newer element added--namely, a concentrated attention and interest in the educational plight of thousands of Mexican-American children in the public schools in the United States today.

The assumptions underlying today's educational philosophies for the culturally different child in general, and Mexican-American children specifically, constitute a mixed Pandora's bag of ideologies concerning the nature of assimilation in America. This mixed legacy, however, can be sorted out into the several major themes of the "melting pot" versus "cultural pluralism." Within the general melting pot category there are two major variants, i.e., whether what is to be the result of the melting is either exclusive or permissive. Within the cultural pluralists' category, two major themes may also be noted, i.e., whether pluralism is of either a mandatory or optional character.

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Each of these notions will be briefly described from a historical perspective for the purposes of identifying their impact on conclusions drawn from sociological, anthropological, and psychological data on the Mexican Americans. The effect of these notions and conclusions on educational practice and philosophy will be described and, furthermore, the cultural pluralists position will be redefined in order to delineate the ideals of cultural democracy and biculturalism in education.

The Exclusivist Melting Pot: Anglo-Conformity

The exclusivist Anglo-Conformity notion of the melting pot has a variety of views concerning racial superiority, exclusivist immigration policies, etc., but its central assumption rests on the desirability of maintaining English institutions (as modified by American history), the English language, and English oriented cultural patterns. This view of the melting pot is exclusive in that assimilation is viewed as desirable only if the Anglo-Saxon cultural pattern is taken as the ideal.

The exclusive Anglo-Conformity view of America as a crucible into which all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups would melt received its fullest expression during the so-called "Americanization" movement which swept the United States during World War I and carried on into the 1920's and 1930's. While the Americanization movement had more than one emphasis, essentially it was an attempt at "pressure-cooking" assimilation[1] by stripping the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and making him over into an American along the Anglo-Saxon image. The exclusivist tone and flavor of the Americanization movement can be vividly appreciated in the writings of one of the more noted educators of that day, E.P. Cubberly. This educator (for whom, incidentally, there is a building at Stanford University named in his honor) characterized the new Southern and Eastern European immigrants as "illiterate," "docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative," and presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government and proper education." American life was thought by Cubberly to have been made difficult by the presence of these new groups.

> . . . Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, and to set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American

> race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth."[2]

These remarks by Cubberly have been somewhat lengthily recorded because they exemplify the ideological precursors for the assumptions underlying many of today's efforts to rationalize the relatively low academic achievement of many Mexican-American children and have molded the character of current efforts at compensatory education. For example, Cubberly's remarks imply that the "manners," "customs," and "observances" existing in the child's home and community, i.e., his culture, are inferior and need to be replaced and implanted, "in so far as can be done" (to use Cubberly's own phrase) with the Anglo-Saxon cultural ideal.

Despite scholars' aspirations of "objectivity," these ideological strains continue to pervade the social sciences in one form or another. As a current example, one has only to refer to Celia Heller's book entitled, Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads. The anthropological study of Florence Kluckhohn and F. Strodbeck[3] in 1951 serves as one of the important bases on which Heller arrives at a number of conclusions about Mexican-American youth. Thus, she supports the conclusion that "Mexican-Americans are the least Americanized of all ethnic groups in the United States and that this condition is largely the result of the child rearing practices of the Mexican-American family." If Mexican Americans are to be "Americanized," according to Heller, their socialization practices must be changed. Heller concludes that Mexican-American homes "fail to provide independence training," that the "indulgent attitudes" of Mexican-American parents tend to "hamper" their "need for achievement," etc. In noting the characteristic of strong kinship ties among Mexican Americans, she concludes that "this type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility."[4]

Clearly, Heller contends that the socialization practices of the Mexican-American family are damaging to the Mexican-American child's ability to profit from the school, especially from the viewpoint of Anglo-American middle class culture and aspirations. The basic point that needs to be established is simply that the focus of attack has been on the socialization practices of the Mexican-American home and community and that the basis of attack has been the persisting exclusivist Anglo-Conformity view of the melting pot.

The Permissive Melting Pot

While the exclusivist Anglo-Conformity version of the melting pot has probably been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America, a competing viewpoint with somewhat more generous and idealistic overtones has had its adherents and proponents from the eighteenth century onward. Conditions in the virgin continent were modifying the institutions which the English colonists brought with them from the mother country. Immigrants fron non-English homelands such as Sweden, Germany, and France were similarly exposed to this new environment. Thus, starting with the French-born writer, Crevecoeurs, in 1782, a new social theory of America as a melting pot came into being. Was it not possible, Crevecoeurs asked, to think of the evolving American society not simply as a slightly modified England, but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically, in which stocks and folkways of Europe were, figuratively speaking, indiscriminately (permissively) mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and melted together by the fires of the American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type. However, this idealistic but ostensibly permissive notion of the melting pot omitted from consideration two indigenous peoples, the Native Americans and the Mexicans of the Southwest, as well as that group forcibly brought to America, the Afro-Americans. In effect the ideal type of the permissive view of the melting pot did not differ greatly from the Anglo-Saxon ideal. The vision projected out of such a melting process was of some new and uniquely "American" cultural phenomenon. Embedded in this vew vision, however, was the notion of the supremacy of this new cultural phenomenon. That is, the result of the melting process was envisioned as being superior to any of the individual ingredients before melting. In this connection, some remarks made by the noted American educator-philosopher, John Dewey, made in 1916, are worthy of examination:

> I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continously built up, and made every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself."[5]

Thus, Dewey's vision of the superiority of the melted product over the individual ingredients seems easily inferable from his statement, "nobler and finer than itself." It clearly seems to say that one's own cultural heritage is O.K., but when it has melted with others the result is even better. Despite its liberal overtones, the permissive interpretation of the melting pot has carried a hidden message of cultural superiority, i.e., that the uniquely American cultural form which results will be better, if not the best. The message to the child who has not yet "melted" is clearly negative--that what he is, is not enough; that there is something "nobler and finer."

Cultural Pluralism

Paradoxically, the exclusive and permissive versions of the melting pot hope for an "integrated" nation served to produce the ethnic enclave through the dynamics of prejudice and institutionally sanctioned discrimination. Both views contributed to governmental policies designed to hasten the "Americanization" of all ethnic groups, and unmelted ethnic groups experienced politically, and economically inhospitable climate. One of the central issues in cultural pluralism concerns the right of the minority ethnic group to preserve their cultural heritage without, at the same time, interfering with "the carrying out of standard responsibilities to general American civic life."[6]

Ethnic groups attempted to establish communal societies and, in order to preserve a corporate identity, even solicited Congress as early as 1818 to formally assign national groups to a particular land base.[7] However, spurred by the melting pot vision of an integrated national society, Congress denied this petition and documented the principle that the United States government could not establish territorial ethnic enclaves. Thus, while *de jure* ethnic communalities could not be, the social forces of prejudice and discrimination laid the basis for the present day *de facto* communalities which have evolved and maintained their unique cultural styles in communication, human relations, and teaching or child socialization practices. Thus cultural pluralism has been a historical fact in American society and continues to the present.

Basically, theories of cultural pluralism fall into two categories--those oriented toward a mandatory view (often associated with separatist or nationalist notions) and those more oriented to pluralism as an optional matter. I shall describe each briefly.

Mandatory Cultural Pluralism

In a two part essay printed in *The Nation* in 1915, Horace M. Kallen, an educator and one of the earliest of the ethnic cultural pluralists, argued that ". . . the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures."[8] Kallen proposed this to be the more or less inevitable consequence of democratic ideals since individuals are implicated in groups and democracy for the individual must, by implication, also mean democracy for the group. Thus, Kallen interpreted the term "equal" as it appeared in the Declaration of Independence and the Preamble and the Amendments to the Constitution to support the concept of "difference" and asserted that the term "equal" was an affirmation of the right to be different. In this connection, he coined the term cultural pluralism, with one of the basic notions being that the individual should retain his ethnic identity. While Kallen's writings have many aspects, his theme of a "federation of nationalities" with the implication that the individual's fate is predetermined by his ethnic group membership caused some distress within the ranks of other cultural pluralists.

Optional Cultural Pluralism

Kallen's emphasis on the theme which strongly implied that the individual should retain his ethnic identity caused considerable discomfort particularly among two other educators who basically subscribed to the theme of cultural pluralism. These two educators, Isaac B. Berkson and Julian Drachsler.[9] adopted the position that different ethnic groups should have the right to maintain an ethnic identity and even proposed a variety of ways this might be done, such as ethnic communal centers, after public school hour ethnic schools, etc. They both favored efforts by the ethnic community to maintain its communal and cultural life, providing a rich and flavorful environment for its successive generations and that, furthermore, the government should play a role by instituting in the public schools a program emphasizing knowledge and appreciation of the various cultures. This idea of the legitimization of numerous ethnic communities and their cultures was labeled by Drachsler, "cultural democracy" which, he felt, should be added to older ideas of political and economic democracy. These ideas of democracy, according to him, implied the idea of freedom of choice--while cultural pluralism may be democratic for groups, how democratic is it for individuals since the choice of whether to melt or assimilate should be a free one?

The Conflict Continues

That this question is still with us today can be seen in the work of Milton Gordon from whose book, Assimilation in American Life, published in 1964, I have drawn liberally. Gordon's own remarks in his concluding chapter should be fully quoted in order to clearly identify this dilemma of choice:

> The system of cultural pluralism has frequently been described as 'cultural democracy' since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and subcultural values . . . however, we must also point out that democratic values prescribe free choice not only for groups but also for individuals. That is, the individual, as he matures and reaches the age where rational decision is feasible, should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of communality or branch out . . . change . . . move away, etc. Realistically, it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for the child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values . . . "[10]

Gordon's statement, "That it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for a child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values" borders on the stereotype notions often applied to Mexican Americans, i.e., that they are "clannish," "stick to their own kind," "refuse to become American," etc. Furthermore, it reflects a lack of awareness of the newly evolving notion of biculturality. Quite in contrast to Gordon's observations, the more typical picture in the American public school is that it confronts the Mexican-American child with the necessity of choosing at a stage in his life where such "mature and rational decisions" are not possible. Finally, Gordon's statements ignore the other possibilities, namely, that if the mainstream environment abides by the ideal of cultural democracy, it will permit itself to be explored by means of different cultural forms and loyalties. As far as the educational picture today is concerned, particularly as it affects many Mexican-American children, the institution continues to maintain policies of exclusion, omission, and prohibition which deny the Mexican-American child his culturally democratic right to explore freely the mainstream cultural environment with those cultural forms and loyalties he has learned at home and in his community.

The version of cultural pluralism or, more correctly, democratic cultural pluralism, that is to be examined in the the following section is more properly called "biculturalism." The goal of democratic cultural pluralism, as far as education is concerned, is biculturalism. Following is the set of assumptions underlying the goal of biculturalism in education.

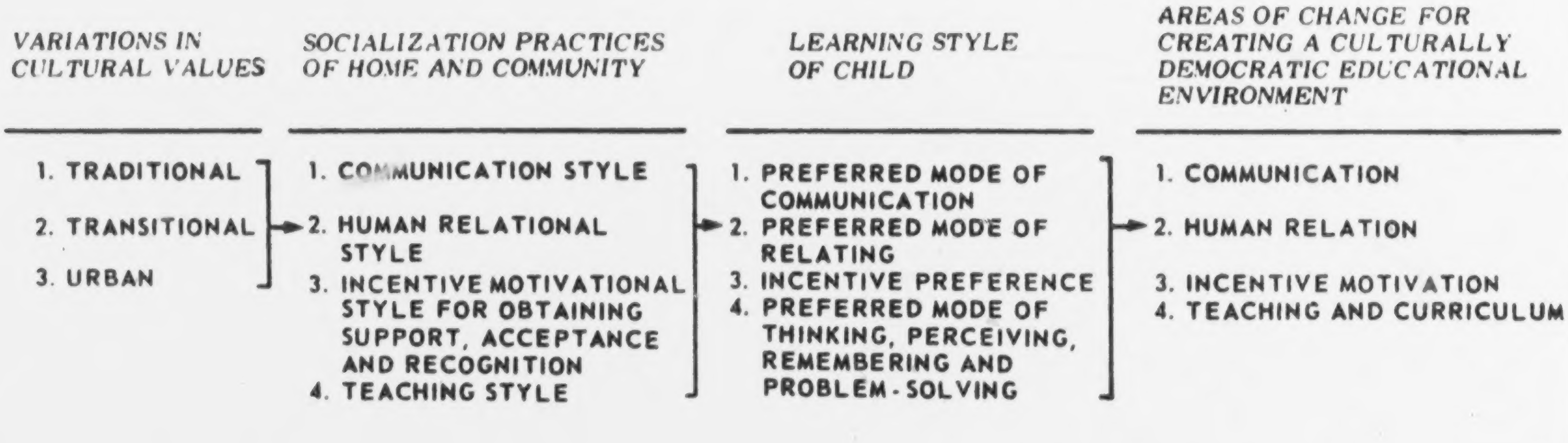
VARIATIONS IN CULTURAL VALUES
SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES OF HOME AND COMMUNITY
LEARNING STYLE OF CHILD
AREAS OF CHANGE FOR CREATING A CULTURALLY DEMOCRATIC EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT
1. TRADITIONAL
2. TRANSITIONAL
3. URBAN
1. COMMUNICATION STYLE
2. HUMAN RELATIONAL STYLE
3. INCENTIVE MOTIVATIONAL STYLE FOR OBTAINING SUPPORT, ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION
4. TEACHING STYLE
1. PREFERRED MODE OF COMMUNICATION
2. PREFERRED MODE OF RELATING
3. INCENTIVE PREFERENCE
4. PREFERRED MODE OF THINKING, PERCEIVING, REMEMBERING AND PROBLEM-SOLVING
1. COMMUNICATION
2. HUMAN RELATION
3. INCENTIVE MOTIVATION
4. TEACHING AND CURRICULUM

Figure I

The left-most section of the figure denotes a characteristic of the community, i.e., the degree to which Mexican values predominate (traditional), whether both Anglo-American and Mexican-American values are more or less equally present (transitional), or whether Anglo-American values predominate (urbanized).

These clusters of values in a given Mexican-American community are considered to be determinants of the socialization or child rearing practices of the home and community as we see in the next portion of the figure labeled, "socialization practices of home and community." It is our assumption that the cultural values predominating in the community strongly influence child socialization practices in four distinct areas: (1) communication style, e.g., whether English or Standard Spanish or Barrio Spanish is spoken or any combination of these, (2) human relation styles, e.g., the importance of the extended family, the degree of personalism, etc., (3) incentive-motivational style, e.g., those methods which the child learns as appropriate for obtaining support, acceptance, and recognition in his home and community, and (4) the methods or styles of teaching that the child experiences from his mother, father, siblings, the extended family, etc.

Each of these four general categories or factors is further assumed to determine four important characteristics of the child described under the general heading "Learning Style of the Child." It is these four important, firmly developed general characteristics with which the child enters school: (1) a preferred mode of communicating, e.g., speaking Spanish only, some or Barrio Spanish, nonstandard English, etc., (2) a preferred mode of relating to others such as expecting personalized direction from adults, etc., (3) a preference for certain incentives over others, e.g., he might be more inclined to be motivated by rewards emphasizing achievement for the family over achievement for the self, group versus individual goals, etc., and finally (4) a cluster of cognitive characteristics which reflect his preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering, and problem-solving.

It is our observation that the conflict many Mexican-American children experience centers in one or more of these four areas because most educational institutions are characterized by educational styles--preferred modes of communicating, relating, motivating, and teaching--which are more characteristic of the Anglo-American middle class culture and that these styles are considered, by virtue of one form or another of the melting-pot ideology, to be the ideal modes which all children must acquire. If the child possesses different modes he is then viewed as "culturally deficient," "culturally impoverished," "passive," "lacking in achievement motivation," "having a language handicap," or, more brutally, "mentally retarded." If the educational policy of the school is one which either excludes, ignores, or prohibits expression of modes different from the ideal, we characterize it as a culturally undemocratic educational environment for any child whose modes of relating, communicating, motivation, and learning are different from the preferred educational style of the school.

The last section, then, delineates those areas for change in the school environment, i.e., (1) communication, (2) human relation, (3) incentive-motivation, and (4) teaching and curriculum. These changes, in order for them to provide a culturally democratic educational environment for the Mexican-American child, must be such that they facilitate, incorporate, and adapt to the learning style of the child as outlined in the immediately preceeding portion of the figure.

With this type of analysis in mind, it is possible to specify those areas of institutional change that the school must consider if it is to provide a culturally democratic educational opportunity for any child. Furthermore, with this version the concept of cultural democracy as far as the school is concerned simply means the right of each child to experience an educational environment which accepts his preferred modes of relating, communicating, motivation, and learning as equally important. Furthermore, under this version of cultural democracy in education, the goal of education is biculturalism. "Biculturalism" means that the child is allowed to explore freely modes of the mainstream culture by means of those preferred modes he brings to school from his home and community. Thus, this notion of cultural democracy or democratic cultural pluralism in education clearly indicates a bicultural educational environment for any school which is confronted with the responsibility of providing equal educational opportunities for children whose home and community are culturally different from that of the mainstream.

The purpose in outlining these factors is simply to provide a point of focus for educators and other professionals concerned with educational change. How these changes are implemented will require specific attention to specific local conditions, the inclusion of the Mexican-American community in such efforts, and an understanding on the part of the schools of the meaning of biculturalism.

FOOTNOTES

[1] M. M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1964).

[2] Elwood P. Cubberly, Changing Conceptions of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), pp. 15-16.

[3] Florence Kluckhohn and F. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (New York: Row Peterson and Co., 1961).

[4] Celia Heller, Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 35.

[5] John Dewey, Nationalizing Education. National Education of the United States, Addresses and Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting (cited in chapter 8).

[6] Gordon, Assimilation in American Life.

[7] Nathan Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ideology," in Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. by M. Berger, T. Abel, and C.H. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1954).

[8] Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot," The Nation, February 18 and 25, 1915, reprinted in Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), p. 116.

[9] Julian Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation: The Blending of Immigrant in America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1920).

[10] Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, pp. 262-63.

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, SCHOOL ORGANIZATION, AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

by

Mark Hanson*

Equal educational opportunity has been the law of the land for several years, and behind its banner significant steps have been taken to change the racial balance in our public school systems. It has become painfully evident, however, that an equal opportunity to obtain an education does not mean that the various cultural groups within a classroom will have an equal opportunity to learn.

One of the reasons that the Mexican-American child does not have an equal opportunity to learn is that members of distinct minority groups, through culturally based socialization practices, possess culturally patterned personalities which are distinct from those of the dominant majority group. An individual, therefore, responds to cues, behavioral acts, patterns of authority, beliefs, norms, instructional objectives, success expectations, and the like in relation to his culturally defined perception of the situation. If the dominant cultural group sets the educational objectives and prescribes the means of attaining those objectives, it is not surprising when the Mexican-American child, as well as children from other minority groups, are placed at a disadvantage and, therefore, do not have an equal opportunity to learn. In order to shape an educational environment which provides for an equal opportunity to learn as well as permits the student to retain his own cultural identity and loyalty while learning, many concerned educators are beginning to call for the acceptance of the idea of cultural democracy in the classroom.

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In discussing the concept of cultural democracy, Alfredo Castañeda states that a culturally democratic environment is one which is knowledgeably prepared to teach the culturally different child--or any child for that matter--taking into consideration four important characteristics of each child: (1) a preferred mode of communicating, (2) a preferred mode of relating to others, (3) a preference for certain incentives over others, and (4) a cluster of cognitive characteristics which reflect his preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering, and problem-solving.[1] It might be added that the educational experiences should be relevant to the needs of the child and related to his natural interests if the educational process is to have meaning for him.

Proponents of the cultural democracy concept frequently contend that the ideal could be realized if, for example, the school would reject the notion that its role is to be a "melting pot" of cultural groups, or if Spanish were to become as acceptable as English as a language of instruction, or if learning materials associated with the Mexican or Mexican-American culture were introduced into the classroom, or if acts of cultural prejudice could be eliminated. It is the argument of this writer that the major barrier to infusing the concept of cultural democracy into the educational mainstream runs far deeper than the stumbling blocks just mentioned. Only the visible "effects" of the problem can be seen in the way the conventional school organizes and administers the teaching-learning environment of the classroom. The roots of the problem reach far back into time and are embedded in the philosophical and ideological beliefs of Western society concerning human nature, the substance of knowledge, the transmission of knowledge, and the societal and individual good.

In search of these historical "forces," this paper will examine two major traditions which have played significant roles in shaping the educational environment of the contemporary school. The dominant tradition, referred to as the Conservative Philosophical Tradition, will be argued as being incompatible with the precepts of cultural democracy. The educational philosophy associated with the Conservative Tradition is referred to as Essentialism. It will be argued that any attempt to implement the idea of cultural democracy in the conventional classroom will be rebuffed.[2]

The second tradition, and by far the less influential of the two, is referred to as the Liberal Philosophical Tradition. The educational philosophy associated with this tradition is referred to as Progressivism. This paper will argue that the precepts of cultural democracy are very compatible with this tradition and that there is genuine hope that one day the balance will shift and the Progressive Tradition will replace the Essentialist Tradition as the principle dynamic shaping the classroom learning environment. In order to understand the forces that are converging on the concept of cultural democracy, one must first understand the make-up and thrust of the two educational traditions in question.

The Conservative-Essentialist Tradition

Lawrence A. Cremin reports that Horace Mann, as early as 1849, was one of the first prominent American educators to

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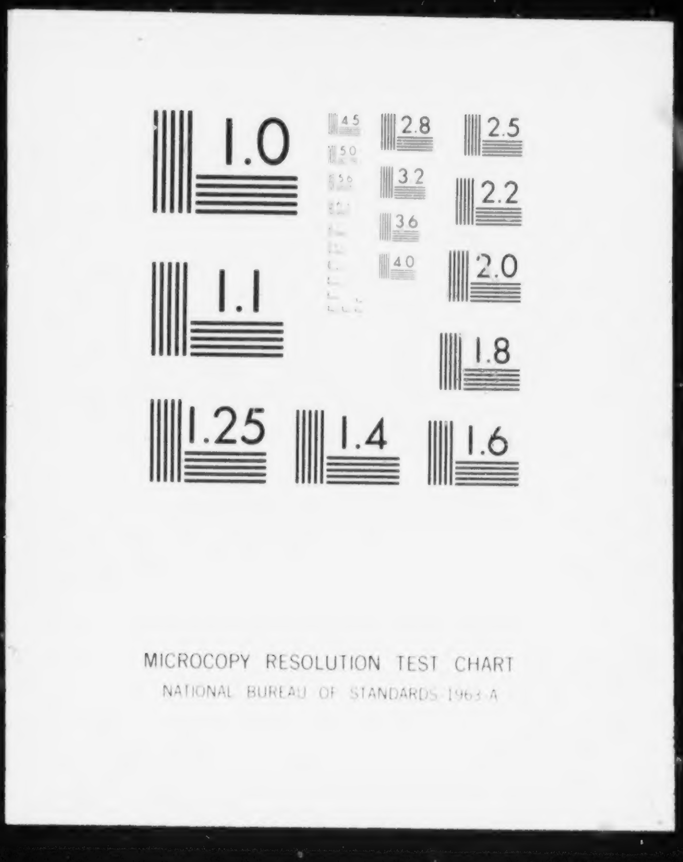
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recognize the central problem that underlies the Essentialist vs. Progressive dilemma. Cremin writes that Mann recognized that "a free society concerns itself with individuals, not masses. How, then, can the values of individuality be reconciled with the teaching of children in groups? Mann by no means solved the problem but--to his great credit--he recognized it."[3] Implicit in this dilemma is a discord over the nature of the material to be learned. The Conservative and Liberal Traditions have specific positions on this issue raised by Horace Mann.

The Conservative Tradition is a product of the post-medieval world. Giving the tradition new life in the modern age was the British political philosopher, Edmund Burke. Writing in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Burke argued that a great contract exists between generations, maintaining that no one generation has the right to absolve or destroy the societal heritage that has been shaped through history. The essence of this Conservative Philosophy is expressed by a contemporary conservative social observer.

> Conservatism is the tacit acknowledgement that all that is finally important in human experience is behind us; that the crucial explorations have been undertaken, and that it is given to men to know what are the great truths that emerged from them. Whatever is to come cannot outweigh the importance to man of what has gone before.[4]

With respect to the nature of the learning process, the Conservative Tradition extends its ideological arm back to the flowering of the Hellenic culture whose expression was found in the works of Plato and Aristotle. According to Greek thought, at the beginning of life there exists only human potential which must be developed through rational thought based on a disciplined body and mind. G. Max Wingo points out that, "To the Greek mind, then, the purpose of education was the perfection of the intellectual powers which men have by their nature, and education was conceived as a disciplinary process--the development of the arts of knowledge."[5] Plato, in The Republic, stresses the view that rational knowledge is far superior to any form of sensory knowledge. Truth, as embodied in the Forms, can only be known through reason.[6]

Thus, in the intellectual armament of the Conservative Tradition there exists a profound belief in the preservation of the societal heritage, a search to the past for historic truths, and disciplined, rational mental processes. This belief structure materialized into a philosophy of education in the nineteenth century which at a later date became known as Essentialism.[7]

The Essentialist Educational Ideology

William T. Harris was an early pedagogical leader who did not share Horace Mann's concern over the shaping influence school had on the child. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Harris argued that the natural self--the self of instinct and impulse--must be connected with the demands of the greater society. The joining vehicle is the rationality and discipline of the mind. For Harris, orderly behavior began in kindergarten through studying what he called "the five windows of the soul:" mathematics, geography, literature and art, grammar, and history. Harris' faith in institutions and rational thought melded well with the problems of crowded school conditions and limited educational budgets. His response was a drive toward efficient management through the introduction of the graded school, promotion by age groups, and a selection process by frequent examination.[8] Cremin writes that Harris' emphasis was " . . . on order rather than freedom, on work rather than play, on effort rather than interest, on prescription rather than election, on the regularity, silence, and industry that 'preserve and save our civil order'."[9]

The Essentialists were against the idea that schools should mirror its contemporary society, but rather the schools should transmit the best of the heritage that has been created in the past. From this perspective, Wingo identifies the views of the Essentialist Tradition with respect to the mission of the school, the curriculum and the art of teaching.

1. The mission of the school with respect to society is to transmit the essential elements of the societal heritage and to preserve the character of the social order.

2. The mission of the school with respect to the individual is to develop disciplined and rational thought processes as well as the essential societal values.

3. The curriculum is made up of an ordered sequence of knowledge which represents the historic societal truths. The curriculum is usually structured into academic subjects of English, mathematics, history, science, and foreign languages.

4. Teaching is the art of transmitting knowledge effectively and efficiently.[10]

From the perspective of the Essentialist, education is a process of preparation for the future. The needs and interests of the day are of secondary importance.

Essentialism and Scientific Management

The latter part of the nineteenth century found this nation in the throes of an Industrial Revolution. To further complicate the issue, foreign immigrants were pouring onto the shores and a massive migration had begun from rural to urban areas. Across the nation the traditional tried and true "rule of thumb" methods for making the economic systems work were breaking down. Confusion, inefficiency, and chaos were the rule rather than the exception. The situation was ripe for a savior, and he arrived in the unimposing form of Frederic W. Taylor.

Taylor, although from a wealthy family, began his vocational life as a lowly iron worker. His precise mind soon propelled him into the role of chief engineer at the Midvale Iron Work. Drawing from a wide variety of sources, Taylor synthesized a technological approach to organization methodology. The era of "scientific management" was launched.

As Nicos P. Monzelis points out,

> The basic aim of Taylorism is the increase of organizational productivity, especially on the workshop level. In order to realize this goal, Taylor advocated the empirical and experimental approach to the problems of workshop management. He believed that for every process, every task in industry, there is one best way of performance; in order to discover this unique way, one has to examine this part ot organizational reality in a scientific way. Industrial organization, like any other part of reality, is governed by definite regularities, laws which can be discovered by observation and experiment. Once these laws are known. they can be applied in the working situation to regulate the various activities and other factors of production in such a way, that maximum productivity is achieved. 11

The magical promises of scientific management took the country by storm and soon almost every form of organized life was bathing in its precepts. The educational institutions quickly pulled on the mantel of scientific management. Ellwood P. Cubberley, one of the most influential educators of the period, stated:

> Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing came from the demands of 20th century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to the specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacturing, and a large variety in the output.[12]

With the arrival of scientific management, the age of educational testing and measurement was born. Efficient processes and measures were applied to school organizations, classroom organization, teaching and curriculum development.[13] Students were tested and retested for intelligence and achievement, and grouped for greater economy and efficiency, and in some instances for learning ability. Few voices of dissent were raised against this orgy of testing, although from time to time John Dewey grumbled that the educational profession was using tests as a device to classify and standardize students rather than for providing a greater understanding of the learning problems of children.[14]

The educational institution never has recovered from what was wrought during the heyday of the scientific management era. The principle reason is that the idea of scientific management fits so neatly in the fold of the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition. The age old emphasis of the Conservatives on disciplined rationality in search of Truth meshes well with the Tayloristic perspective of rational, empirical approaches to finding the most efficient method of carrying out a task. Unfortunately, the scientific management approach to education emphasized efficient administration rather than effective learning, and the learning environment was placed under even greater constraints.

As shall be seen shortly, the forces of disciplined rationality and scientific management were joined by a third force, which, by acting in concert, shaped a devastating blow to the Mexican American and his right to an equal opportunity to learn in school. The new additive became known as the "melting pot" mission of the school.

The Melting Pot Ideology

Between 1890-1920 the native sons of southern and eastern Europe arrived in droves on the American shores. Reflecting on the mass immigration, and capturing the essence of the human socialization process of America, Israel Zangwill in his play, The Melting Pot, speaks to the newly arrived.

> Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you've come to--these are the fires of God . . . into the Crucible with you all: God is making America.[15]

Historically, the Conservative Tradition espoused the belief in preserving and strenghtening the societal heritage from generation to generation. With the arrival of the melting pot ideology, a mutation of the historical position of the Conservative Tradition resulted. The task was now not only one of preserving the societal heritage, but coupled with that task was the desirability for all groups of the "societal different" to subscribe to the prescribed behaviors, ideals, values, and language which have been passed upward through history.

The schools were quick to accept the challenge of the melting pot ideology. Cubberley, writing in 1909, stated that the primary task of the education process was:

> . . . to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.[16]

The melting pot idea of education is not always advocated in such a blantantly unsubtle form as was the style of Cubberley. Frequently, the idea slips into the classroom ideology with all the trappings of academic respectability. R. Linton, for example, wrote in 1941, "In addition to training people to think, and to be willing to think, he (the educator) must provide them with reference points from which to think. Without a definite system of values to act as a thrust block, the keenest and most willing intelligence will dissipate its efforts."[17] The "reference points" Linton speaks of must no doubt reflect the value system of the dominant Anglo-American culture, therefore reducing the opportunity for cultural variance.

Writing of the Mexican-American experience in the contemporary school, Thomas P. Carter emphasizes the extent to which the dominant Anglo-American culture attempts to systematically strip the Mexican-American student of his own heritage. "Schools," he writes, "very consciously attempt to teach the dominant culture to all children and especially to the ethnically distinct groups. In fact, the curriculum (the content, sequence, and method of instruction) is merely culture as defined by and found in the school."[18]

Cultural Democracy and the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition

The structure and content of the teaching-learning environment of the conventional American school is the manifestation of the Essentialist educational philosophy which teaches that (1) disciplined rationality is the preferred mode of learning, (2) the role of the teacher is to transmit knowledge, (3) the mission of the school is the preservation and transmission of the societal heritage, (4) the task of the school is to socialize the "culturally different" into the mold of the dominant culture, and (5) efficiency should be maximized by, for example, extensive testing and measuring and thereby "scientifically" categorizing students by their learning capabilities.

The compatibility of the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition and the conditions of cultural democracy in the classroom is obviously doubtful. While the Essentialists argue that there is one superior mode of learning and that a defined body of significant knowledge should be learned, the idea of cultural democracy argues that each child should be permitted to learn in the style which is most effective for him and that the curriculum content should be related to his natural interests. In other words, different people have distinct desired learning styles, and an end result should be a form of personal mental autonomy rather than conformity. Hilda Taba reports,

> One aspect of autonomy is the capacity for conceptual mastery of one's environment. To develop this capacity an individual must learn to see things in a perceptual orientation that is his own, to find the principles that govern the relationships between what he sees and knows, to use the principles he has learned to explain and to predict, and to structure problems in his own way. In other words, productive and autonomous thinking is one important aspect of personal autonomy.[19]

While personal autonomy is an important dimension of cultural democracy, it does not have a role in the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition. The result for the Mexican-American child is destructive. Not only is the child forced to adopt to the disciplined rationality model, but as Dell Felder states,

> These (Mexican-American) children take their culturally defined set of behaviors into the American schools and are confronted immediately with different sets of values and role expectations. It does not take them long to experience defeat and discouragement and to internalize the sense of bewilderment, deficiency, and inferiority.[20]

In addition to the problem of preferred modes of learning, there exists the problem of the conventional school systematically attempting to indoctrinate the Mexican-American child into the societal heritage of the majority group. The school acts as a countervailing force to the home culture of the child. The school structures the learning environment so that the Anglo-American educational goals are followed by related patterns of rewards and punishments, patterns of motivations and expectations towards learning, and the like. As a result Manual Ramírez III states, there is a

> . . . separation of the two worlds in which, as a bicultural person, he must participate: the world of his parents, which is usually very much identified with the Mexican or Mexican-American values, and the world of school which is usually representative of the value system of the Anglo middle class. These two worlds vie for the child's loyalty.[21]

A culturally democratic classroom would permit a child to explore any number of cultural patterns and to select that pattern which best fits his personal desires and expectations. Unfortunately, the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition does not afford such freedom of choice.

The emphasis on culturally defined, efficient management is also part of the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition, and it frequently contradicts the precepts of cultural democracy. For example, the only merit behind placing students in grades based on chronological age is for purposes of efficient management rather than for effective learning. Behind the banner of efficiency comes the extensive use of culture-bound standardized tests and teacher-made tests which tend to systematically place minority groups into the lower tracks. The "no Spanish rule" frequently imposed in many Southwestern schools is partly a product of cultural prejudice but also partly a product of the efficiency syndrome. It is inefficient, therefore irrational, for Mexican-American children to use a language which is not understood by the teacher. When the mission of the teacher is to transmit knowledge, there is little time for the inefficiency associated with problems of communication.

In short, the form and substance which make up the learning environment of the conventional classroom is in direct conflict with the precepts of cultural democracy. It is the judgment of this writer that attempts to interject the conditions of cultural democracy into the conventional classroom will be at worst, rebuffed, and at best, given minimum lip service.

The future of the culturally democratic classroom, however, is not nearly as bleak as it would appear at this point in the paper. In direct opposition to the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition is another tradition which has struggled for acceptance since the late nineteenth century. This second tradition is referred to as Philosophical Liberalism, and its educational offshoot, as Progressive Education. Although the Progressives historically made a limited impact on the minds and practices of educators throughout the nation, the future of the Liberal-Progressive Tradition is still in balance. It is the argument of this writer that the future of cultural democracy, on a mass scale, rests in the balance with it.

The Liberal-Progressive Tradition

The Philosophical Liberal Tradition is associated with the rise of the middle class during the eighteenth century. Like the early conservative spokesman, Edmund Burke, the early liberal spokesman, John Locke, also wrote of a societal contract. Unlike Burke's contract between the generations guaranteeing the preservation of the societal heritage, Locke spoke of a contract between citizens and their government. Under the terms of this contract, the citizens delegate to the government certain powers, and in return the government must pledge to preserve the natural rights of men: life, liberty, and property. Institutions of the State, therefore, exist to serve human freedom and welfare, and when they fail to do so, the institutions should be changed. The concept of personal freedom and welfare, and the processes of institutional change, are inherent in the Liberal creed.

The Progressive Education movement, as an extension of the Liberal Tradition, was born of the chaos of the same Industrial Revolution that spawned the melting pot and scientific management ideologies which are so dear to the Conservative-Essentialist movement. The Liberal-Progressive movement leaders did not turn to scientific management for liberation; they were more concerned about the human condition of the time and how the existing institutions could be altered to improve that condition. The mission of the Progressive movement was social and political reform, and a major vehicle of reform was to be the school. John Dewey bluntly made the point when he said in *My Pedagogic Creed*, "I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform." This notion is contrary to the Essentialist view of preserving and transmitting the societal heritage.

The Progressive movement to modernize education was sparked off in the late 1800's by what the Liberals saw in the classroom. Oscar Handlin states that,

> The realm of the classroom in the 1890's was totally set off from the experience of the child who inhabited it. The teachers' lessons were encrusted by habit, the seats arranged in formal rows, and the rigid etiquette of behavior all emphasized the difference between school and life. Hence learning consisted of the tedious memorization of data without a meaning immediately clear to the pupil.[22]

Note the early concern over the differences between school life and real life.

Writing as early as 1902, the noted Jane Addams of Hull House protested against the educational processes of the day. Her words pointedly struck at the heart of the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition.

> We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that the oridinary experience of life is worth little, and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clew to the life about him, or any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself with it.[23]

In 1919 the Progressive Education movement became institutionalized in the form of an association, and one of its first principles was the free and full development of the child based on his personal characteristics and needs. John Dewey became the chief theoretician and spokesman for the Progressive Education movement. His position, and that of the association, was that a major role of the educational institution was to play a constructive part in the process of social change. Without this role, the educational process was a meaningless task failing in its goal of preparing the young to deal with the problems of social development.[24]

Dewey also argued that the major function of the school with respect to the individual was to give the child command of himself--a sense of personal autonomy. That is, to help the individual child develop as completely as possible his full range of native powers. The process of education must also be conducted within the reality of the existing world and not simply be a preparation for the future. The school experience must be real and vital and directly related to the environmental context of home, family, and friends. Education must be a continuing reconstruction of the life experience and not simply an intellectual exercise conducted in the classroom.[25]

William James, the distinguished psychologist and philosopher, joined the Progressive educators in their ideological struggle with the Essentialist Tradition. His concern was with the learning process and how it could be structured. Although frequently misunderstood, the early Progressive thinkers never advocated an unstructured learning environment; James addressed himself to how the curriculum should be designed to give structure without losing consideration of the child's own interests.

> Begin with the line of his (the child's) native interests. and offer him objects that have some immediate connection with these.
>
> Next, step by step, connect with these first objects and experiences the later objects and ideas which you wish to instill. Associate the new along with the old in some natural and telling way, so that the interest, being shed along from point to point, finally suffuses the entire system of objects of thought.[26]

The Conservative-Essentialist Tradition was explicit that the nature of the curriculum was to represent a body of knowledge reflecting on the great truths of the past as well as the intellectual skills of reading, writing, and mathematics. Dewey's test for whether or not items should be included in the educational process was diametrically opposed to the test applied by the Essentialists. Dewey wrote,

> Does it grow naturally out of some questions with which a student is concerned? Does it fit into his more direct acquaintance so as to increase its efficacy and deepen its meaning? If it meets these two requirements, it is educative. The amount heard or read is of no importance--the more the better, provided that the student has need for it and can apply it in some situation of his own.[27]

Writing in 1925, William Kilpatrick, a famous student of John Dewey's, put into clear perspective the ideological struggle going on in the educational institution.

> As I see it, our schools have in the past chosen from the whole of life certain intellectualistic tools (skills and knowledges), have arranged these under the heads of reading, arithmetic, geography, and so on, and have taught these separately as if they would, when once acquired, recombine into the worthy life. This now seems to me to be very far from sufficient. Not only do these things not make up the whole of life; but we have so fixed attention upon the separate teaching of these as at times to starve the weightier matters of life and character.[28]

John Dewey's Laboratory School was one of the first empirical tests of the Progressive educational philosophy.

The purpose of this school was to "discover in administration, selection of subject-matter, methods of learning, teaching, and discipline, how a school could become a cooperative community while developing in individuals their own capacities and satisfying their own needs."[29] Eliminated from the Laboratory School were the traditional procedures of grouping by age, standardized curriculums, teacher-centered classrooms, box-like classrooms, and the like. The child became the center of the learning environment and all educational experiences were structured around his needs and interests.

The Laboratory School was just that--a laboratory. The true test of the Progressive philosophy and method would have to come in a large scale nonsanitized experiment which included many types of schools, in various geographical regions, which enrolled students from all socioeconomic levels. Thirty secondary schools participated in such a dramatic test from 1932 through 1940, and the results of this test are referred to as the Eight Year Study.[30] The objectives, testing strategies, and curriculum of the partipating schools were completely revised. Cremin reports that, "Ancient barriers between departments crumbled as subject matter was reorganized around student interests and concerns."[31]

The evaluation procedure included the observation of the progress of 1,475 matched pairs of students after they had graduated from the participating secondary schools and had entered college. Graduates from the participating schools were matched with graduates from control schools. The results of the experiment were impressive. The group of students from participating schools showed significantly higher gains than the non-participating group in, for example, grade point average, intellectual curiosity, objective thinking, and participation in organized student groups. Unfortunately, the results of the study came out during World War II, when the concern and energies of the nation were focused elsewhere.

With the cessation of hostility, the future of the Progressive Education movement darkened. Taba reports,

> Unfortunately, these beginnings and possibilities were not exploited in the decades that followed the war. The postwar explosion of school population and a growing conservatism evidently discouraged any further effort, and many of the new educational practices which had developed from these experiments and research began to be regarded as unnecessary or even dangerous.[32]

Even though there was no great resurgence of Progressivism after the war, the Essentialists bitterly attacked the schools for any divergence from the historic Conservative Tradition.

Arthur E. Bestor, for example, in his widely read book entitled Educational Wastelands, contended that American education had been subverted by a separation of schools from scholarship. Intellectual training should be the primary function of the school, he wrote; and the vehicles of intellectual training are the academic disciplines of history, mathematics, science, and foreign languages.[33] The end of the Progressive Education Association was formalized in 1955 when the president, H. Gordan Hullfish, accepted the fate of a dying movement and pronounced its demise.

Cultural Democracy and the Liberal-Progressive Tradition

Earlier in this paper it was pointed out that the precepts of cultural democracy and the Conservative-Essentialist Traditions are incompatible. The compatibility of cultural democracy and the Liberal-Progressive Tradition, however, seems to be a different matter.

The culturally democratic educational environment entails that the student learn in his: (1) preferred learning style, (2) preferred mode of communicating, (3) preferred model of relating, and also (4) avail himself of educational experiences which are relevant to his needs and organized around his natural interests. Based on these conditions, it can be readily concluded that the idea of cultural democracy meshes easily and firmly with the Liberal-Progressive Tradition.

It is the judgment of this writer that if the Liberal-Progressive Tradition was alive and well in our nation, the Mexican-American students would not only have an equal educational opportunity, they would have equal opportunity to learn. The Eight Year Study has demonstrated that the ideas of the Progressives work in practice as well as on paper; therefore, the empirical precedent has been set.

The New Progressivism

The decade of the 1960's witnessed the beginning of a new direction in the historic ideological struggle in the educational institution. The educational institution, dominated by the Essentialist Tradition, began to draw fire which could no longer be ignored. For example, a Mexican-American community consultant in Northern New Mexico clearly states the issue in a way which directly supports the historic Progressive Education position.

> The whole system is rotten. Look what's happening on the campuses. Look what's happening in the schools. Even the Anglos, the middle class, are sick of the schools. They want their kids in these new experimental schools, schools with an open environment, and all that. And why not? How can the kids learn in the kind of schools they have now. They're like prisons--four walls, a bunch of damn desks, the bells ringing all the time. Is that the kind of place parents want their kids in

> all day? A place like that--a place with rows of desks and bells ringing--is totally contrary to the life style of the Chicano, I tell you.[34]

Like the awareness expressed in the frustration of the Chicano, an awareness has also grown up at high levels in our national body politic. For example, the influential Committee for Economic Development stated in 1968, "We are convinced that the reconstruction of instructional staffs, instructional patterns, and school organization must lie at the heart of any meaningful effort to improve the quality of schooling in this country."[35]

The decade of the 1960's saw a renewed search for educational strategies and content which would break the chains of the conventional school. The motivating energies behind the new demands for change were rooted in: (1) a more sophisticated understanding of the learning process, (2) intensive pressures exerted by minority groups, (3) a growing awareness that the great educational goals of the future are social and psychological as well as intellectual and rational, and (4) the development of computer capabilities.

Across the nation pockets of innovative practices are breaking out in school districts which have re-evaluated their educational priorities and methods. This new educational leadership does not couch its rationale in the liturgy of the old Progressive Education Association. In fact, the new leaders are probably not even aware that they are the inheritors of a rich tradition which struggled for more than fifty years to lay the foundation for what the "New Progressives" are accomplishing.

Even though the conventional schools are still the rule rather than the exception, it is becoming more and more common to see schools adopting, for example, the nongraded classroom (pass and fail grades only), the non-graded school (students grouped by progress rather than by age), broad based multicultural curriculums, flexible (modular) scheduling, individualized instruction, and parent participation in curriculum development for the individual child. Almost all of these innovations were included in John Dewey's Laboratory School; therefore, they are not new in the developmental sense, but they are new in terms of wide application.

The concept of cultural democracy meshes neatly with this "new movement." The new school organizational forms, teaching strategies, and course content just described are making it possible for the Mexican American to obtain an equal opportunity to learn within the framework of a culturally democratic educational environment. It is anticipated by many educators that the new movement begun in the 1960's will become the rule rather than the exception during the decade of the 1970's. If this proves to be the case, the acceptance and application of the precepts of cultural democracy in the classroom are assured on a large scale basis.

The New Essentialism

True to history, with the rebirth of the Progressive Education ideology there came a renewal of the Essentialist ideology. Under the shield of "accountability in education," the cult of scientific management has once again sprung to life in the form of Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems (PPBS). This procedure represents a progression of goals-to-objectives-to-programs and finally to budgets. The goals are statements of broad direction, although the objectives leading up to the goals are very specific and measurable. "An objective is a desired accomplishment that can be measured within a given time and under specifiable conditions. The attainment of the objective advances the system toward a corresponding goal."[36] An example of a specific performance objective is, "Upon completion of the term, the sixth grade pupil will be able to read and pronounce with eighty per cent accuracy a distinct compiled list of sixth grade words selected from the basic Stanford Achievement Test--Reading." Students who do not read and pronounce with 80 per cent accuracy the words on the list will be required to repeat the task until they are able to do so.

Enough precedent exists to generate the concern that the objective just cited, multiplied by the several hundred required for an educational program in any school, might push the Mexican American into an accelerated academic competition over an Anglo culture bound curriculum which has little relationship to the interests and needs of minority group children. With an intensified emphasis placed on achieving common classroom academic objectives, there may be little time, sympathy, and recognition for the child and his preferred mode of learning, communicating, and relating.

In sum, the individualized, student-centered educational environment which is very compatible with the conditions of cultural democracy may soon be hard pressed for its existence by those who are demanding higher and higher collective achievement standards. With respect to the educational ideological struggle under study in this paper, it appears that at this point in history the pendulum seems unsure of which way it will swing.

Conclusion

Since the late nineteenth century, the educational institution has been involved in an ideological struggle between two warring traditions, the Conservative-Essentialist Tradition and the Liberal-Progressive Tradition. The educational goals, strategy, content and method of the two traditions are almost diametrically opposed, and only the weaker of the two traditions is compatible with the concept of cultural democracy in the classroom.

The Essentialist Tradition espouses, (1) the principles of disciplined and rational intellectual procedures, (2) a transmission of the societal heritage, (3) a belief that the teacher is the transmitter of knowledge, (4) the conviction that the acquisition of a core body of knowledge is essential to all students, and (5) a need to integrate everyone into the culture of the majority group. The Essentialist Tradition concentrates its energies on structuring a learning package which is independent of the individual learning characteristics of any one person. In other words, the crucial ingredients are in the package not in the learner. The same learning environment is optimal for everyone and if adjustments need to be made. the student must adjust to the curriculum.

The Progressive Tradition, on the other hand, expresses the view that (1) a major task of the schools is to promote social change, (2) there is no sacred body of knowledge which must be transmitted from generation to generation, (3) the learning environment encompasses the home, school, and friendship patterns of the child, and (4) the curriculum must be built around the natural interests and needs of the child. In other words, the learning package is dependent on the individual characteristics of the learner rather than vice versa. A culturally democratic educational environment is implicit in the spirit if not the letter of the Progressive Tradition.

Until recent times the Essentialist Tradition has dominated the educational scene to the point where the historic Progressive movement whithered and died during the decade of the 1950's. The decade of the 1960's saw a new movement spring up which is divorced of the old Progressive slogans and rhetoric, but firmly incorporating the view that individual interests and needs of the child should be the organizing principles of the learning environment. If this updated version of the Progressive Tradition continues to capture the imagination of educators at its present rate, cultural democracy in the classroom may soon be a reality of the present rather than a hope for the future.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Alfredo Castañeda, "Melting Potters vs. Cultural Pluralists: Implications for Education." This manuscript appears just prior to my paper in this volume.

[2] The concept of cultural democracy will be rebuffed in the conventional classroom setting except in those hybrid cases where especially trained bilingual-bicultural teachers are present. This hybrid situation, however, can at best be created in a limited number of classrooms. The concern of this paper is with the vast sum of classrooms which are spread throughout the nation.

[3] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 11.

[4] William F. Buckley, Jr., Up From Liberalism (New York: Hillman Periodicals, Inc., 1959), p. 172.

[5] G. Max Wingo, The Philosophy of American Education (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1965), p. 27.

[6] Plato, The Republic, Book VI.

[7] The word "Essentialism" was first used by Michael Demiashkevich in 1935 as a name to catch the flavor of the educational dimension of the conservative philosophy.

[8] William T. Harris, "The Pedagogical Creed of William T. Harris," in Educational Creeds of the 19th Century, ed. by Ossiam H. Lang (New York, 1898).

[9] Cremin, Transformation, p. 20.

[10] Wingo, American Education, pp. 81-121.

[11] Nicos P. Monzelis, Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories (Chicago: Adline Publishing Co., 1968), p. 81. Underscore added for emphasis.

[12] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public School Administration (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), pp. 337-338.

[13] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 95.

[14] John Dewey, NEA Proceedings (1912), p. 639.

[15] Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot (New York, 1909), p. 37.

[16] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Changing Conceptions of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), pp. 15-16.

[17] R. Linton, et al., Culture and Personality: Three Lectures to Educators (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941), pp. 9-10.

[18] Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), p. 16.

[19] Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), p. 71.

[20] Dell Felder, "The Education of Mexican Americans: Fallacies of the Monoculture Approach," Social Education. XXXIV, 6 (October, 1970), 639.

[21] Manuel Ramirez III, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican-American Child," National Elementary Principal. L, 2 (November 1970), 45.

[22] Oscar Handlin, John Dewey's Challenge to Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 42.

[23] Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (New York: Macmillan Co., 1907), pp. 180-181.

[24] John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 92.

[25] John Dewey, My Pedagogical Creed, reprinted by the Progressive Education Association, 1929.

[26] William James, Talks to Teachers on Psychology: And to Students on Some of Life's Ideals (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906), pp. 95-96.

[27] Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 219.

[28] William H. Kilpatrick, Foundations of Method (New York, 1925), pp. 108-109.

[29] Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, The Dewey School (New York: Atherton Press, 1936), pp. XV-XVI.

[30] Wilford M. Aikin, The Story of the Eight Year Study (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1942).

[31] Cremin, Transformation, p. 254.

[32] Taba, Curriculum Development, p. 4.

[33] Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., Educational Wastelands (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1953).

[34] A Community Consultant in Northern New Mexico in "The Community Speaks," The National Elementary Principal, L, 2 (November, 1970), p. 33.

[35] Committee for Economic Development, Innovations in Education: New Directions for the American School (A statement on national policy by the Research and Policy Committee, 477 Madison Avenue, New York, July 1968), p. 15.

[36] California State Department of Education, Planning, Programming, Budgeting System: Manual for State of California School Districts (1970), p. 9.

III

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

by

Mario Barrera*

Of the various issues confronting Chicanos today, it is likely that education is generally seen as the most important. The significance attached to education is reflected in the frequency with which the schools have been the targets of Chicano political action and in the amount of space in the Chicano media given to educational problems. The 1971 Riverside symposium at which the following papers were delivered was devoted to the matter of bringing about educational change. By a fitting coincidence, a series of protests had been staged by local Chicano high school students during the previous week. The actions of the students stood in sharp contrast to the reasoned deliberations of the conference, and their list of demands for local educational reforms bore witness to the perceived lack of fundamental change in the schools and to the continuing, unsubtle processes of human destruction that go on within them.

The perspective conveyed by the symposium papers is that the schools, not the children, are the source of the

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Chicano's educational problems. Belatedly, it has become apparent to many that it is virtually impossible for a Mexican-American child to enter the school system without becoming a victim of that system. Dropout rates and other performance measures, appalling in themselves, are grossly inadequate measures and do not reveal the psychological and cultural toll taken by the schools.

Given this perspective, the need for change is clear. Some of the directions this change should take are indicated in the symposium papers and include such things as bilingual and bicultural instruction, a redistribution of the resources devoted to education, and community involvement in, or control of, the schools. In light of the more general questioning of the goals and methods of American education that is currently taking place, these suggested changes should be seen as merely a bare beginning towards providing a genuinely human educational experience for all Chicanos. Nevertheless, reformers face formidable opposition from various entrenched interests, and the extended struggle that will be necessary to achieve reform will have to be in large part political.

Each of the papers in this section addresses itself, in one way or another, to the problem of change. Carlos Muñoz analyzes protest activity as a political resource for educational change, drawing upon the example of the 1968 school walkouts by East Los Angeles high school students. Armando Navarro details the strategy followed by Chicano activists in bringing about educational change in Cucamonga, California, adding an important dimension to that outlined by Muñoz. Joan Moore describes the varying roles of professional and community people in the ferment about Mexican-American education that has taken place in Los Angeles during recent years. These papers are all written from the standpoint of the local community.

A valuable complement to these papers is provided by three men involved in educational politics at the national level. An outline of the Mexican-American Education Study being conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights is provided by Henry Ramírez, who has played a central role in formulating that research. Robert Reveles discusses various aspects of the passage of bilingual education provisions in the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments Act of 1967. Martin Gerry concludes with a description of recent national administrative actions designed to implement the 1964 Civil Rights Act as it affects Chicanos.

Taken as a whole, these papers indicate several basic points. In general, it appears that those concerned with educational change at the local level have a somewhat more pessimistic view of the amount of progress that has taken place in the schools. It may well be that the greatest obstacles to such change exist at the local level, where entrenched practices, bureaucratic inertia, political conservatism, and cultural prejudices hold sway.

Two fairly distinct approaches to bringing about change seem to emerge from these papers, although no paper focuses exclusively on either approach. One approach assumes that significant change can be produced by providing relevant information about Chicano educational deprivation, creating and publicizing new methods of instruction, and making available some financial and technical resources to local school districts. Underlying this assumption is another: that a favorable disposition to change exists at the local level or that such a disposition can be produced in fairly short order through this kind of intellectual/facilitative appeal.

The second approach is essentially political. It assumes that there are important elements of resistance at the local level, as well as at other levels, that will not yield quickly to appeals. This approach stresses, as a necessary complement to the intellectual/facilitative method, the organization and application of Chicano political power as a way of bringing about desirable changes. This can mean acting directly on local agencies, in the manner described by Navarro, or indirectly through such mechanisms as the enforcement powers of the national bureaucracy, mentioned by Gerry. The resistance recognized by this approach is derived from various sources, including simple inertia, but at least two centrally important ones deserve mention: (1) the presence throughout the Southwest of a pervasive cultural racism, only one aspect of the deeply embedded racism of Western civilization and (2) the fact that substantial change in the schools will require a significant reallocation of educational resources. Such reallocation will be resisted by those who see the present distribution of resources as being in their interests.

Taking a political approach to educational change means recognizing that the schools are part of the political system, in that they compete for public funds and play a central role in the process of political socialization. Schools also function as gatekeepers for the society and thus are crucial in determining who will have access to such societal values as wealth, status, and power.

Seeing the schools in this light also means taking into account that they are part of the overall political process, which needs to be seen as a whole by Chicanos. We can not afford to think that a viable solution to our educational problems can be worked out by focusing on any one level, whether local, state, or national. We must also learn from our experience that a challenge to the workings of the educational sector will inevitably bring support to that sector from other components of the political system. This means planning our strategies accordingly, such as in seeking outside support for ourselves.

Becoming aware of the indivisibility of the policy process also entails pursuing change through the various phases of that process, whether they be labeled legislative, judicial, or administrative. One particular hazard to be avoided lies in making a false distinction between politics and administration, as students of public administration have long warned. Too often, labeling an action "administrative" has served as a way of concealing a political decision under the cloak of "professionalism." In the administrative state, more and more significant politics take place through bureaucratic organs. The wide latitude given to such bodies is documented in the paper by Martin Gerry. Thus continual vigilance over day-to-day administrative processes must supplement elections, protests, judicial action, and legislative lobbying as a political activity.

Those of us who study political processes also have some pressing items on our agenda, if we are to contribute to bringing about change in education and other policy areas important to Chicanos. Among those priorities indicated by the papers in this section are the development of Chicano expertise in the general area of public policy and the careful evaluation and analysis of alternative political strategies, using such methods as the case study. By effectively carrying out this intellectual work, we will be contributing to the broad, protracted political effort that will be necessary to achieve our educational goals.

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN EAST LOS ANGELES

by

Carlos Muñoz, Jr.*

In recent years much attention has been paid to the politics of urban education. More significantly, the efforts on the part of the powerless minorities to overcome their educational problems have become the focus of analysis by social scientists; but few attempts have been made to clarify the issues of community participation and community control of the schools vis-à-vis the quest for power. In the vast majority of cases, protest activity has played a major part in the politics of educational change. Although protest has been viewed as a political resource by some, and indeed it has become a prominent aspect of minority politics, very few efforts have been made to offer theoretical perspectives of protest as a political resource in the politics of educational change.[1] The absence of such scholarly efforts are particularly acute in the case of Chicano protest.

This paper is a case study analysis of Chicano protest against the Los Angeles City School District, the second largest school district in the nation. This protest activity placed the educational problems of Chicanos in public focus and raised questions of significant political implications; namely, it served to highlight the inherent limitations of protest as a viable political resource for the Chicano community. Central to my analysis is the assumption that the school is indeed a political institution that ought to play an integral role in political analysis. It is refreshing to note that more and more social scientists are acknowledging the interrelationships which exist between politics and education.[2]

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Chicano America, like other powerless communities, no longer considers education and power to be mutually exclusive concepts. The drive for community control of the schools must therefore be analyzed from within the context of a power struggle between the haves and the have-nots. In the case of the Chicanos, the struggle is between (1) those institutions which perpetuate a dominant social order and culture and (2) a people which, through the process of Anglo colonization, have become a powerless cultural minority in a hostile, modern technological society. In this regard, schools have greatly contributed toward defining the powerless status of the Chicano.

One of the most significant events in the Southwest development of contemporary Chicano militancy occurred during March

1968, in the barrios of East Los Angeles. Thousands of Chicano high school students staged a dramatic walkout from five city schools located in the general East Side area of the Los Angeles metropolis. The student walkouts represented the first massive urban demonstration in the history of Chicano America and became the catalyst for Chicano political mobilization and protest against the schools.

The significance of the walkouts is that for the first time the schools became a foremost symbol of oppression and powerlessness to various segments of the Chicano community--and therefore, a prime protest target. Although it is true that to some Chicanos the schools were largely responsible for the low educational status of Chicanos, and therefore dysfunctional to the needs of Chicano America, prior to 1968 there had been no large scale effort to radically restructure the educational system and make it more meaningful to the Chicano experience.

The student protest in East Los Angeles, described by one reporter as "a week-and-a-half of walkouts, speeches, sporadic lawbreaking, arrests, demands, picketing, sympathy demonstrations, sit-ins, police tactical alerts, and emergency sessions of the school board,"[3] awakened many Chicanos to the need for political action against the educational power structure and generated a drive for community control of the schools.

The walkouts had a profound impact on the politics of the barrio and on community organization. Many of the existing organizations were given impetus for exerting more leadership, and other more militant organizations developed almost overnight to provide a more aggressive type of leadership seldom seen in the barrios. The Chicano university and college student movement, now known as the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA), was suddenly thrust into public prominence and, along with the Brown Berets, were considered by members and representatives of the Anglo power structures to be the militant and subversive force in the Chicano community.

In terms of generating militancy among Chicanos and contributing to the further development of the Chicano power movement, the walkouts were considered a success by those involved in the development.[4] However, in terms of contributing toward the kinds of educational structural changes needed in the barrios and making possible community control of the schools by Chicanos, the student walkouts point out that protest by itself will not cause radical changes in the power relationships between the powerful and the powerless.

Next to the two largest urban centers in Mexico, Los Angeles is the third largest "Mexican city" in the world; therefore, the largest "barrio" in the United States. According to a special census taken in November of 1965, seventy-six out of every 100 residents in the East Los Angeles area were Chicano. According to a 1970 racial and ethnic survey conducted by the city school system the five protest target schools had the largest Chicano student enrollments: Belmont, 64 per cent; Wilson, 81 per cent; Roosevelt, 85.7 per cent; Lincoln, 88.7 per cent; and Garfield High School, 93.6 per cent.[5] Another hard statistic is that these schools had the highest student drop-out rate in the city--the Chicano rate was 59 per cent.

Initially the demands made by the student demonstrators were in reference to specific student concerns; later they were placed by the Chicano community group, the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC), comprised of a cross-section of representatives from both Chicano professional and grass roots community organizations, in a broader context--proposals for educational change in the target schools. The EICC was a unique political experience for the East Los Angeles barrios. For the first time parents, students, teachers, and other professionals joined hands with members of the clergy, politicians, and community militants. Unfortunately, the EICC was also perceived by Chicanos as a political vehicle representing various ideological political orientations and interested in more than the specific issues of educational problems and community control of the schools.

The EICC proposals which had special relevance to the issue of community control of the schools were as follows:

1. The implementation of a citizens review board.

2. Administrative takeover by Chicano personnel of those schools which had enrollments indicating the majority of students were Chicano.

3. The placement of school facilities under the jurisdiction of the Chicano Parents Councils for the purpose of introducing school-community programs of a bilingual and bicultural nature.

The Board of Education's response was to be expected. School officials stated they agreed "with 99 per cent of the student demands but that the district /did/ not have the money to finance the kind of massive changes proposed."[6] Furthermore, to their knowledge, Chicano personnel were not available to fill the administrative and teaching positions demanded. The Board did agree to hold public meetings at one of the target schools to allow the community to air their grievances. Some items listed on the proposals were referred to a committee. Others were simply explained away by making reference to ongoing school programs which in the Board's estimation were already meeting the needs of Chicano students and the community. The EICC felt that school officials did not take the proposals seriously and the status quo would continue in target schools. Protest activity subsided temporarily but was given further impetus when approximately two and a half months after the student walkouts the Los Angeles district attorney, then running for the state attorney general office (and later elected), arrested thirteen Chicano activists on charges brought forward by the county grand jury.

The grand jury had indicted the thirteen men on several counts of conspiracy which read in part, to "disturb the peace, willfully disturb the public school, and disturb the peace and quiet of the neighborhood encompassing" four of the five protest target schools "and persons in the proximity thereof, by loud and unusual noises and by tumultuous and offensive conduct, and in a loud and boisterous manner . . . " One of the thirteen was a teacher at one of the schools; four were members of the Brown Berets; two belonged to the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), now known as MECHA; one was a member of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA); one was the Editor of La Raza, a Chicano "undergound" newspaper; three were young Chicano barrio activists; and the thirteenth worked for a war on poverty program. In a sense each of the thirteen represented different elements in the Chicano community, making mass-based community protest activity possible.

The arrests and imprisonment of the thirteen triggered off intense political organization in the Chicano barrios of East Los Angeles and elsewhere. The membership of the EICC swelled to hundreds overnight. Community and political leaders became visible for the first time and expressed public sympathy for the student boycotts and demanded the release of the thirteen "political" prisoners. Even some of the most conservative elements of the community expressed public outrage.[7]

The indictment and arrest of the thirteen not only made an impact on Chicanos but also on the white community. For example, the Department of Political Science at California State College, Los Angeles (located in the East Los Angeles area), sponsored a resolution through that college's academic senate which read as follows:

> WHEREAS, the arrests on May 31 and June 1 of thirteen members of the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles throws in question the community's view of the entire system of justice; and
>
> WHEREAS, these arrests were carried out in a manner violative of American concepts of fairness, equality, and justice in that they were made in the late evening and early morning of a weekend precluding early arraignment and release on reasonable bail, were made upon secret indictments, and were followed by demands for clearly excessive bail; and

> WHEREAS, we support the constructive efforts of our UMAS chapter, its officers, and its members to improve the education and educational opportunities of Mexican-American students, and
>
> WHEREAS, these arrests and the manner in which they were made reflects an apparent repression of the Mexican-American community at a time when that community is just beginning to develop political self-consciousness and an awareness of its citizen responsibility to participate in the political process of democratic decision-making;
>
> THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Department of Government of the California State College, Los Angeles, that we condemn the pre-arrest procedures, the manner in which the arrests were carried out, and the damage that they will inflict upon those arrested and upon the relations between the majority community and the minority communities of Los Angeles County and elsewhere.

Lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and others were asked to defend those arrested and fund-raisers were given by sympathetic white liberals in Beverly Hills and other "wealthy" areas in the Los Angeles metropolis.

Following what can be termed the politics of intimidation or suppression by the district attorney's office, the politics of accommodation began to take place. On February 20, 1969, the Los Angeles Board of Education created a Commission on Mexican-American Education which the EICC had proposed. The EICC viewed the Commission as the instrument needed to exert community control over the schools in East Los Angeles. The Board of Education, on the other hand, viewed the Commission in a very restrictive sense and wanted it to be an advisory body and nothing more. While the Commission was allegedly free to define its scope of operations dealing with the educational issues student demands outlined, the bureaucratic restrictions of the Los Angeles city school system confined the Commission's work to a very narrow scope. In short, the Commission would never become a viable tool for radical educational change in the barrios.

Establishment of the Commission was interpreted by many members of the EICC as mere exercise in the politics of accommodation. Symbolism and not substantial input would be the programmatic orientation of the Commission. While it has to date (three years later) spearheaded efforts in the direction of new programs with the potential to radically change the school system vis-à-vis the needs of Chicano students, it has largely remained an ineffective body for structural educational change. Concern with community issues not directly related to the schools and the issue of returning a Chicano teacher to a protest target school expended the energies of the Commission.[8]

Analysis--Post-1968

Much has happened in terms of changes in the Los Angeles city school system since the student walkouts of 1968. The dropout rate in East Los Angeles schools has been reduced. The fact that more Chicanos have been staying in school can be attributed to the implementation of bilingual and bicultural programs in the target schools. Efforts on the part of the Board of Education to recruit and hire more Chicano administrators and teachers and the existence of the Mexican-American Education Commission have symbolized, to many Chicanos, that progress is being made in the right direction and that the educational system will become more receptive to the needs of the Chicano community. In short, reform has taken place and in some cases the protest target schools, it can be argued, are no longer the same. The general goal of community control, however, remains obscure.

Reforms which have taken place have not eliminated student or community discontent. Chicano students continue to press for change in the schools albeit in less dramatic fashion. Large scale demonstrations like those in 1968 have not reoccurred but the sources of unrest remain. In March, 1970, two years after the initial demonstrations, police and student confrontations occurred on the campus of Roosevelt High School (one of the target schools), giving credence to the voices in the Chicano community that maintain that the basic restructuring of the schools has not taken place and that the changes which have taken place are, in fact, token measures designed to placate a restless and powerless community.

The Roosevelt confrontation further underscored the lack of a viable relationship between the Mexican-American Commission and the Board of Education. In the words of the late Ruben Salazar, "nothing produces distrust more quickly than a crisis and the Roosevelt . . . dilemma has alienated the commission from the board in a way which stems from a lack of mutual admiration."[9] On February 18, 1971, the Commission tendered its resignation because of a personnel appointment made by the Board of Education without consulting the Commission. The Commission later decided to withdraw its resignation and remain in operation. Its existence, however, is only tangential. The school decision-making process remains virtually unaffected by Chicano community input, for no structural changes have made possible the kind of input the Commission or other community groups need to provide Chicanos with the power to control their schools. Although an "intensive two year study to increase community involvement in school life through decentralization" has been accomplished, the proposal for decentralization of the schools does not make any strong recommendation allowing community control of the schools.[10]

Protest activity failed to achieve the general goals of educational changes which would radically alter power relationships and provide for community control of the schools for two basic reasons: (1) there was a lack of organization and strategy which failed to take into account the nature of the system and (2) the established powers successfully co-opted and manipulated both leadership and events of the protest activity. (By established powers I refer to the Board of Education, the mass media, and representatives of political power structures.)

Protest leaders and the leadership of the EICC were not successful in nurturing and sustaining an "organization comprised of people with whom they may or may not share common values."[11] Since the composition of the EICC took place almost overnight, the structure of the organization was based on weak community interrelationships and became a vehicle for much rhetoric and very little community organization--the kind needed to develop resources in the community which could have contributed toward a permanent and viable EICC. Also, the fact that individual community "leaders" did represent diverse ideological orientations made it impossible for the EICC to concentrate on its prime protest target, the schools. Instead, it became entangled in many community issues ranging from police brutality to the Vietnam war. While these were and remain issues important to an understanding of the conditions of the barrios, the insistence on the part of individuals to concentrate on those issues as well, made the EICC lose perspective on its proper role in the struggle to change and control the schools.

Another factor behind the lack of a sustained organizational thrust against the schools was that 1968 was a political year. Between the months of March and June, the EICC organizational efforts were dealt a blow when many of the community organizations represented, and individual EICC members, became deeply involved in the presidential campaigns of Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy. An effort to elect a local Chicano politician to the California state senate was contributed to by some Chicanos. With the exception of the Chicano candidate, Richard Calderon, the two presidential candidates declined to actively participate "in the politics of educational change in East Los Angeles."[12]

Some Chicanos involved in the electoral campaigns rationalized their efforts as imperative to "Chicano Power" and therefore conducive to educational change in East Los Angeles. Other members of the EICC, however, considered the electoral campaigns as divisive and detrimental to the EICC effort to organize the barrios around student protest issues.

The indictment of the thirteen Chicanos, on June 1, 1968, three days before the primary elections, created yet another obstacle to the effectiveness of the EICC because the membership became concerned about the legal defense for those indicted--especially for those who had greatly participated in the formation of the EICC. Since one of the thirteen, Sal Castro, the most popular Chicano teacher at one of the target schools, had been largely responsible for inspiring Chicano students to demand a better and more relevant education, the EICC made Castro their top priority. To the EICC and many in the Chicano barrios, Castro came to symbolize the struggle for educational change and community control of the schools.

The role of the mass media became significant at this point. The indictment of Castro and his subsequent suspension by the Board of Education made Castro newsworthy. While extensive press coverage made it possible for Castro to publicly expose the poor conditions in the East Los Angeles schools, the issues took second place to the dilemma of one individual teacher. The mass media, coupled with the actions of the Board of Education, made Castro a local hero. The EICC sponsored various demonstrations in support of Castro, including a week-long sit-in at the Board's conference room which resulted in the mass arrest of forty-three EICC members and other concerned Chicanos (September, 1968).

The established powers, therefore, successfully diverted Chicano protest away from the main objectives and, through the cooperation of a politically ambitious district attorney, managed to survive a "crisis." In the end, the powerless minority has remained powerless and the status quo more or less continues. Exactly how did the Board of Education manipulate the protest activity? It can be said that five tactics were employed to maintain the status quo both in the schools and in the Chicano community. They were the same tactics which any government agency, especially at the local level, uses to perpetuate "pluralist democracy" (I borrow the tactical categories from Lipsky's article).

1. "Symbolic satisfactions" were dispensed. Expression of public sympathy about the poor conditions of the schools in East Los Angeles, and a public recognition that the demands for educational change were valid, gave the general image of sympathetic concern on the part of the Board. Creation of a Mexican-American Education Commission provided the image that something, in fact, would be done about the problems. Introduction of Chicano studies classes and the appointment of two Chicanos as principals at target schools gave the community the image that the Board was, in fact, making progress in terms of Chicano needs.

2. "Token material satisfaction" was dispensed. This was accomplished by focusing on the issue of Sal Castro and temporarily returning him to a target school, thereby giving

the appearance that the general problem was being attacked when in reality only a "crisis" situation was being handled. As Lipsky further explains it, "Token responses, whether or not accompanied by more general responses, are particularly attractive to reporters and television news directors who are able to dramatize individual cases convincingly, but who may be unable to 'capture' the essence of general deprivation or of general efforts to alleviate conditions of deprivation." The focus of attention was therefore shifted away from the more substantive issues of the protest effort.

3. The appearance that the Board was constrained in their ability to grant protest goals was gained through "the extension of sympathy but with the claim that they lacked resources, a mandate from constituencies, and/or authority to respond to protest demands." This is particularly effective, for there is always an element of truth in it. For example, when school officials sympathized with the student demands, they rationalized the demands away by pointing out that there was a lack of funds for new facilities and more Chicano teachers. Failure of voters to respond favorably towards bond elections also was used as a reason for inaction.

4. The Board and the district attorney used their "extensive resources to discredit protest leaders and organi-

zations." The EICC was labeled as a militant organization and the thirteen men indicted for conspiracy were all labeled Brown Berets, therefore, members of a "subversive" organization. As Lipsky puts it, "any of these allegations may serve to diminish the appeal of protest groups to potentially sympathetic third parties."

5. Postponement of immediate pressures and the "delay [of] specific commitments to a future date." School officials in East Los Angeles, and teachers as well, would comment that changes could not be made overnight. While there is, of course, a certain amount of truth in that statement, community pressure eventually subsided. Pressure also subsided because of the inherent instability of the EICC, for "Protest groups are usually comprised of individuals whose intense political activity cannot be sustained except in rare circumstances." Also, the EICC was inherently unstable due to the cross-pressures placed on the leadership who attempted to keep various factions of organizations and individuals with different ideological orientations united in the protest effort.

From our case study it would appear that "powerless groups cannot use protest with a high probability of success," i.e., if we measure success in terms of structural changes in the system. The principle reason is that protest groups, the EICC in this case, lack organizational resources that are needed to sustain organization--organization needed to develop alternatives to the present reality and to radically alter political structures. Perhaps more significantly, this case study suggests the thesis that since the school decision-making process proved to be closed to Chicanos in East Los Angeles, the American political system is indeed not open to the powerless minorities. "Pluralist liberal democracy" has served to perpetuate and to enhance the dominant social order and those in control of that order. It has not served as a viable model for those engaged in the quest for power. Placed in another context, the struggle for community control of the schools, in the words of one scholar, "both its meaning and its practice, reflects . . . the difficulty those calling for radical change or new institutions have in achieving their ends."[13]

In conclusion, this case study of protest does underscore the limitations of protest as a viable political resource. The question as to whether it is indeed possible for Chicanos to control or change a political institution, the school, within the confines of present structures is posed. The case study does not, however, prove that there are inherent limitations in Chicano protest activity. The school walkouts of 1968 were a catalyst toward the development of a political movement with the potential to effectively challenge the dominant Anglo social order. Whether such a potential is realized is open to conjecture and beyond the purview of this article. However, failures of past protest activity have been useful lessons to those Chicanos committed to the development of viable alternatives to the status quo.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Michael Lipsky has developed a theoretical model of protest activity which is applicable to the study of Chicano protest. See his article "Protest as a Political Resource," American Political Science Review, LXII (December, 1968), 1144-58.

[2] See, for example, Alan Rosenthal, ed., Governing Education: A Reader on Politics, Power, and Public School Policy (New York: Doubleday Press, 1969).

[3] Dial Torgerson, Los Angeles Times, March 17, 1968, Section C, p. 1.

[4] See, for example, my analysis on "Chicano Militancy in California: A Quest for Identity and Power," in Racism in California: A History of Oppression, ed. by Spencer Olin and Roger Daniels (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971).

[5] See Los Angeles Unified School District, Division of Planning and Research, Report No. 312, Racial and Ethnic Survey, 1970.

[6] Los Angeles Times, March 17, 1968, Section C, p. 5.

[7] One staunch Mayor Yorty supporter, who had two years prior supported the election of Governor Reagan, demanded from Yorty that he personally request the district attorney to free the thirteen men--and that if Yorty did not do so, he would withdraw his support in the next election.

[8] The teacher in question was allowed to return but was later transferred by school authorities to a high school in a predominantly Anglo district. In the final analysis, the future of the Commission as a catalyst for educational change is indeed very bleak. It has not been allowed to become, nor will the Board of Education allow it to become, an integral component of the decision-making process of the Los Angeles City School District.

[9] "L.A. School Board's Offspring Turns Against Its Parent," Los Angeles Times, March 20, 1970.

[10] Los Angeles Unified School District, Ad Hoc Decentralization Task Force, February 22, 1971, Education Renewal: A Proposed

Decentralization Plan for the Los Angeles Unified School District.

[11] Lipsky, "Protest as Resource," p. 1144.

[12] While McCarthy did provide some funds for the defense of the thirteen Chicanos indicted for their role in the student walkouts, Kennedy made it known that he could not involve himself in local matters.

[13] Marvin Surkin, "The Myth of Community Control," unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE THROUGH POLITICAL ACTION

by

Armando Navarro*

The history of La Raza in Cucamonga is comparable to that of many barrios throughout the Southwest--a history of poverty, cultural imperialism, and political and economic exploitation. However, this paper will focus on how a small but well-organized group of individuals were able to successfully bring about educational change through the political electoral process by politicizing and mobilizing La Raza of the barrio of Cucamonga. Emphasis will be placed on explaining the reasons, strategies, and tactics used in bringing an Anglo-dominated school district under Raza control. However, to better understand what factors were conducive to animating such unprecedented political action, it is imperative to have some perception of Cucamonga's history.

Cucamonga, before the Mexican-American War of 1846, was a rancheria of 40,000 acres which belonged to Tiburcio Tapia. Subsequently, with the defeat of Mexico by the United States, El Rancho de Cucamonga became easy prey for land-hungry Anglos. From the 1850's to the late 1960's the Anglos controlled the lands, wealth, and educational and political institutions of Cucamonga. Between the above-mentioned years, La Raza was subservient and was a victim of economic exploitation, and political prostration. Educationally, they were subjected to the viruses of Anglo ethnocentrism--discrimination and segregation due to plain racism. Economically La Raza has been exploited of its labor and know-how. Upon the occupation and loss of El Rancho de Cucamonga to the Anglos and Italians, La Raza provided the labor, sweat, and know-how that transformed a rancheria with a few grape vines and cattle into a rich agricultural and wine producing area, and now into an industrial area. While the Anglo enjoyed the profits of progress, La Raza "enjoyed" the miseries of poverty; delapidated housing, lack of paved streets and sewers, prevalence of alcoholism and narcotics, lack of political representation, an inferior and irrelevant education, and even worse, the degradation of racism. Today, many of La Raza are seeking jobs at local factories that are nothing more than sweat shops. Few, if any, of the young Raza work in agriculture.

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Since the 1920's the barrio has increased in size and population. This has been attributable to the inflow of immigrants from Mexico and migrants from other states of the Southwest. While the barrio grew, so did the poverty and the social problems that permeated it. The forces of poverty were enhanced by Anglo landowners who sought to perpetuate the economic plight and the social conditions of the barrio by restricting the already limited job opportunities of La Raza. Discrimination and prejudice were the implements used not only to limit employment opportunities, but to keep La Raza within the confines of their environment--the barrio. Discrimination was so real that up to the 1940's in the neighboring communities of Ontario and Upland, La Raza could not patronize some restaurants, theaters, or even bars. Furthermore, the barrio's physical appearance and infamous reputation of being a wild town caused some Anglos to perceive the barrio as a wanton island in the midst of a puritanical ocean of civilization and progressive people.

The Anglo was not only the master of the economic process, but was also in complete control of the educational system. De facto segregation was institutionalized as early as 1914 with the creation of two school districts: the Cucamonga School District, which was totally Raza for many years, and the Central School District, which was overwhelmingly Anglo. The Cucamonga School District, even up to the early 1950's, was approximately 99 per cent Chicano whereas the other school district by the 1960's had a 88 per cent Anglo enrollment. Financially since 1914, the Central School District had a far larger tax base than the poorer school district to the south. However, by the late 1960's the Cucamonga School District found itself with one of the wealthiest tax bases; conversely the Central School District today finds itself in serious financial trouble. This reversal has been largely precipitated by two factors: (1) the arrival of industry to the Cucamonga School District and (2) the inability of the Central School District to attract industry and to keep up with the increased Anglo population. Consequently, the Central School District finds itself a victim of discrimination in reverse. Years ago the Anglos found it advantageous to segregate the Chicano--but now, because they find themselves in financial troubles, they are trying to unify the two districts for the purpose of bringing a more equitable education to "all the people of Cucamonga."

Although the Cucamonga School District was 99 per cent Chicano for many years, the school board of trustees, the administrators, the teachers, and even the janitors were Anglos. Even the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) was mostly controlled by the few Anglos that resided within the school district. Prior to the 1950's, many Anglos, especially the ranchers, sent their children to either the Central School District or to other neighboring Anglo schools. From the 1930's to the 1950's there were a few Anglo families such as the Van Fleets, Lucas, and others who controlled not only the schools but the land, water, and to a large degree the commerce of Cucamonga. Since these families controlled the Cucamonga School District, nepotism was prevalent for many years. For example, the Van Fleet family during the 1940's and 1950's had members of the family working as teachers, janitors, and administrators (in fact, one of the teachers by the 1950's became the Superintendent). Thus, even though the Chicano constituted the majority, the Anglo minority controlled the educational system so effectively that they not only controlled the administration and employment opportunities of the school district, but they also controlled and oriented the curriculum and educational programs to operate under the philosophy of the melting pot.

This curriculum oriented towards the melting pot philosophy was another way of discriminating against La Raza. The curriculum used in the Cucamonga School District was oriented towards exhalting the virtues of American capitalist democracy and the great contributions of the Anglo forefathers of this country. Also, part of the orientation was to socialize or condition La Raza to the beauty of the Anglo hybrid culture; in order to achieve this, the Mexican culture and language had to be rejected. One example of how Anglo cultural imperialism was endeavoring to conquer or reorient the minds of the young Raza was in the way American and California histories were taught. Such great political figures as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were supposed to be admired and respected; however, when it came to discussing such Mexican figures as Pancho Villa and Joaquin Murrieta, they were categorized as bandits. Anglo teachers, following the policies of the Anglo school board, adamantly tried to eradicate the Spanish language from being spoken on school grounds, even though for decades the district was predominantly Chicano. The methods used in the eradication of the Spanish language were scoldings, spankings, and, the most extreme method, washing the mouth of the speaker with liquid soap. The melting pot orientation of the curriculum, plus the ethnocentricity, unresponsiveness, and the lack of sensitivity of Anglo teachers and administrators, engendered an educational milieu that was not healthy or productive towards good education for La Raza.

This milieu was largely responsible for the prevalence of functional illiteracy, and the subsequent astronomical dropout rates in high school. One could postulate that this situation was brought about by racist Anglos to prevent the growth of Chicano professionals. This strategy also worked to secure a plentiful supply of manpower needed to work in agriculture and in the sweat shops. Even in the late 1960's, few Chicanos graduated from high school and even fewer graduated from college.

Another problem which aggravated the high dropout rates and functional illiteracy was the insensitivity to La Raza's culture by most Anglo teachers and administrators. For example, they expected barrio parents to participate in activities relevant to the Anglo middle class and meaningless to the Chicano community. Little did the Anglo establishment realize that the school was seen as an authoritarian institution which failed to relate to the Chicano's needs, problems, and culture. Because the Chicano parents felt alienated from the educational system, few parents were involved in the education of their children.

With the lack of parent involvement, some teachers became easily discouraged and interpreted the parents' indifference towards education as being self-imposed. When dealing with children who were having a difficult time in school, some teachers would react by saying, "Many of the Mexican children just don't want to learn." They failed to see the conflict between the melting pot philosophy and the Chicano culture. Little did they know that this cultural conflict was a paramount factor in Chicanos dropping out of high schools. Instead of reinforcing the values of the Chicano, the melting pot philosophy forced many Chicanos into a pattern of confusion and despair.

This feeling of confusion and despair became the precipitant that impelled a few Chicanos, during the early months of 1968, to the realization that something had to be done to bring about change. The barrio in 1968 looked almost identical to the barrio of 1938. Several _cantinas_ were still focal points for excitement and escape from the many problems of the barrio. The Cucamonga School District was doing an excellent job in producing functional illiterates and high school "push-outs." The barrio became fertile ground for narcotics. The physical appearance of the barrio was one of delapidated housing and substandard living conditions. Rivalry between the barrios was still commonplace. Furthermore, the barrio was still suffering from a vacuum of organization and individual leadership. Individuals that controlled the economics of the barrio--stores, bars, etc--continued to see themselves as the spokesmen or _caciques_ (chieftains) of the barrio. Consequently, dissatisfaction with the status quo, reinforced by a profound desire to bring about needed changes, motivated a few "inexperienced" Chicanos to organize an activist group that was political, economic, and social in orientation.

The search to find an organization with such a unique and progressive orientation proved to be futile. After some research and discussion, it was decided that one such possible organization was the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA). Although its emphasis was on politics, it was known throughout the state of California for its efforts to bring change through political action. Consequently, meetings were held to discuss the feasibility of organizing a chapter of MAPA in Cucamonga. An aura of apprehension permeated the meetings. Some of the people attending the meetings were concerned about MAPA's alleged militant image. The question of whether MAPA was communist infiltrated bothered some of the prospective members. Other people were concerned with its emphasis on politics. MAPA's lack of concrete plans for political action bothered some people. When representatives from MAPA were invited to speak in the barrio, they had a difficult time in listing the political and social accomplishments of MAPA. Some young people believed that MAPA was too bourgeois and did not represent La Raza of the barrios. After serious deliberation, and despite the diversity of views and criticisms, the people decided that MAPA's general orientation was compatible with theirs.

On March 12, 1968, at the Cucamonga Elementary School, the Cucamonga-Upland MAPA chapter was formed; officers were elected. Initial membership numbered only fifteen. They were few in number, but large in hope and enthusiasm. The initial fifteen members were diverse in background and political orientation. Students, a few professionals, and white and blue collar workers comprised the initial membership.

Prior to undertaking any major projects, the leadership sought to coalesce the diverse views of the members so as to engender a feeling of unity and respect for one another. Involvement, hard work, patience, trust, and commitment were the words stressed by the leadership in getting the membership to function not just as an organization, but as a family.

MAPA's first concern was how to win over the confidence of La Raza in Cucamonga. Initially, the interaction between the mapistas (MAPA members), who were supposedly middle class, and La Raza from the barrio was a slow process. This was largely because the majority of the mapistas were from neighboring communities--Ontario, Upland, and Claremont. Because of this, some Chicanos from the Cucamonga barrio had mixed feelings about MAPA. They were suspicious and apprehensive; they saw some mapistas as outsiders. Some Chicanos rejected MAPA's emphasis on politics. Some members of the traditional barrio were not pleased at having another organization in the barrio. These were just a few of the problems MAPA encountered in its organizing efforts in Cucamonga.

Meetings were held twice a month in the barrio of Cucamonga to encourage young and old to attend, and to inform them of MAPA's purposes. After weeks of discussion, it was decided that only through action would MAPA win the confidence of the people. Activism would foster the politicization and the awakening of La Raza in Cucamonga. Winning the support of the youth of Cucamonga and ameliorating the barrio's social conditions became prime targets for MAPA's action.

Throughout the year field trips were planned for the youths of the barrio. Once the rapport with youth was established, "Operation Clean-Up" was used by MAPA to involve mapistas and the youth in cleaning up and uplifting the physical appearance of the barrio. Emphasis was placed on the many lots that were full of weeds and trash. Tractors and trucks, borrowed from the school district and sympathetic Anglo contractors, were used by MAPA. The strategy behind Operation Clean-Up was to instill pride in their barrio in the youth. However, another facet of that strategy was to show the adults that this organization was "action oriented" and that it was not another typical Mexican organization interested in social affairs and providing a few token scholarships.

During the summer months MAPA continued working with the young people of the barrio. After raising some money by having a few dances, scholarships were given to Chicano students to attend high school and college. Field and camping trips were used by MAPA to expose the youth to new experiences and environments. These trips had definite purposes: to reinforce the Mexican culture and to develop an appreciation of their cultural heritage. These activities continued through the fall months with the addition of public forums on various topics from politics to education. During the election months, Anglo politicians were invited to speak--they came soliciting the support, not of the traditional caciques, but of MAPA.

The public forums were very effective. To their amazement, traditional politicians and the people of the barrio saw young mapistas who were articulate and aggressive and who handle themselves with confidence against the supposedly sophisticated, shrewd politicians. These forums often became polemical; the leadership of MAPA made it clear to the politicians, that no longer was the Chicano sleeping under a cactus waiting for mañana. Its politics would be nonpartisan, and it would only support those candidates who were responsive to the needs of La Raza--regardless of whether they were Democrat or Republican.

By January 1969, MAPA considered taking action against an obstacle that was responsible for high "push-out" rates and the existence of functional illiteracy--the Cucamonga School District. After carefully researching what the educational needs were, the leadership formulated and presented proposals to the "all" Anglo school board of trustees. These proposals sought to remedy weaknessess in the educational system of that district. The proposals called for: a bilingual and bicultural program, more Chicano teachers, a tutorial program, teacher aides, smaller classrooms, more remedial and special educational programs, and the building of a community ball park on school property.

These proposals were rejected by the all-Anglo school board. They responded by ignoring the proposals; thus their intention was on perpetuating the status quo. Consequently mapistas felt frustrated, but the realization that in the coming school election there would be three vacancies, animated them to political action; they would seek to fill those three posts with Chicanos.

Political naivete in organizing a political campaign was one of the greatest problems MAPA confronted. By March 1969, a political coordinating committee was organized. It consisted of mostly college students from neighboring colleges. It was this committee that got the candidates and planned the strategy that was to be used in the forthcoming campaign. Their initial concern was to find barrio people who would be interested in becoming candidates for the board of trustees. Finding qualified Chicanos who would be interested in running on MAPA's progressive platform proved to be difficult.

MAPA, prior to selecting its candidates, had to decide how many candidates it was going to run. The decision was difficult since there were three openings. Some members of the committee felt that it was political suicide for MAPA to run three candidates. They felt that quite possibly one or two would be elected but three was an impossibility. Other members, however, felt that it was imperative for MAPA to run three candidates. They stressed that if MAPA's three candidates won, Chicanos, for the first time in Cucamonga's history, would be in full control of the district. Furthermore, it meant Cucamonga would be one of the few, if not the only, school district in the state of California to be under "barrio control." Also, if MAPA was victorious politically, it meant that its platform would be implemented. Consequently, after seriously evaluating what was at stake, the political coordinating committee decided to "go for broke."

The coordinating committee promptly began to seek potential candidates from the barrio. After a few weeks of searching for potential candidates, three politically aware Chicanos from the barrio were persuaded to run for the school board vacancies. The committee's criteria was based on the following factors: commitment to La Raza; ability to run on MAPA's proposals; and ideological considerations. As it turned out, MAPA's candidates were not professionals or college graduates. One candidate was a barber with an eighth grade education. Another was a mason contractor also with only an eighth grade education. The third candidate was a young woman who had two years of college and worked as a librarian in one of the local high schools. Running people from the barrio who identified with the barrio and the plight of people was a paramount factor in enhancing MAPA's political strategy.

The mapistas of the political coordinating committee pooled their expertise and formulated the strategy and tactics for the campaign. Since the Mexican people only comprised around 40 per cent of the registered voters, MAPA's strategy was one of heavy canvassing of the barrio and of relying on the apathy of the Anglo community. Essential to the strategy was a voter registration drive. The number of Chicanos registered to vote increased to around 48 per cent. Its tactics were as follows: telephone campaigning, door-to-door canvassing, printing literature, developing a system to get the vote out, using a sound truck periodically, and establishing a temporary headquarters to coordinate the campaign. Concomitantly, a tutorial program was implemented for the purpose of not only helping the children, but also enhancing MAPA's overall political strategy.

Another part of the strategy was to make sure that no other Chicanos ran for the three board positions. Before making any further political plans, MAPA representatives met with the only Chicano incumbent who was a resident of the barrio. The purpose behind the meeting was to ascertain if he was going to run for reelection. He had initially agreed not to run for reelection; but by the closing filing date for candidacy, he and his son-in-law were in the running. MAPA learned through various sources that the Superintendent perceived MAPA's political moves as a threat to his position. He reacted by persuading the Mexican incumbent and his son-in-law to run for the board of trustees, hoping to split the barrio vote.

MAPA reacted by using the same tactics: representatives from the political coordinating committee met and persuaded two Anglos to run. They were able to persuade the two Anglos by inferring that MAPA would support them with the finances and the necessary manpower to run an effective campaign. The committee went so far as to submit the necessary forms for candidacy for one of the Anglo candidates only ten minutes prior to the deadline. However, in spite of all the inferences of support that were made to the two Anglos, the committee never formally committed itself.

In the ensuing weeks MAPA continued to "play" with the candidates. All the candidates were invited by MAPA to attend its open forum in the barrio. The membership was prepared with ready-made questions to tackle the political ingenuity of its opponents. The purpose of this political maneuver was to make MAPA's "unendorsed" candidates look good in front of the barrio people. This forum proved effective in bringing many conservative people from the barrio to the forum. During the early weeks MAPA played the political game of neutrality. However, a few weeks before the election MAPA came out with an open endorsement for the three Chicano reformers.

An important tactic used by the political coordinating committee was breaking the barrio into block and section components. Block and section leaders were selected with the purpose of disseminating literature and providing information for MAPA. These block and section leaders were chosen on the bases of involvement and confidence. They became valuable assets, serving as liaison between the people and MAPA. During the campaign most block and section leaders canvassed their respective areas. They talked to the people about the importance of voting for MAPA's three candidates.

Probably one of MAPA's most successful tactics was emphasis on the barrio. Literature, telephone calls, house-to-house campaigning and all other methods were confined strictly to the barrio. At the same time, MAPA's main concern was preventing the Anglo people of the district from becoming too concerned over the election. MAPA could not afford to alienate the Anglo voters; the balance of power was a fragile thing.

In the barrio, MAPA's Mexican-American opponents did very little campaigning. The Anglo candidates lacked the machinery to run an effective campaign. Their campaign seemed to run on the hope of past history--Mexican apathy. Conversely, MAPA's candidates took the issues to all the people, but their emphasis was on winning the support of the barrio. They personally contacted the barrio people during the evenings or weekends. Concurrently, mapistas were encouraged by the coordinating committee to do the same. MAPA's paramount strategy was to establish personal dialogue with the barrio people, feeling that through such interaction MAPA would be able to win their confidence and support in the coming school board election.

Finances for the campaign were meager, but this problem was partly resolved by a MAPA dinner in the early months of the campaign. Because food was reasonably priced, over 300 barrio people attended the function. MAPA's candidates and southern section representatives reinforced the importance of having three Chicanos elected to the school board of trustees. Again, the lack of finances was compensated for by the overwhelming enthusiasm of the membership.

During the course of the campaign, MAPA emphasized the need to elect the three candidates as a team. Mapistas distributed various types of campaign literature. Most of the literature provided information on the candidate's background and platform. MAPA's political gospel was based on pragmatism and emotion. The speeches and literature conveyed an imperative message to La Raza: unless MAPA's three candidates got elected, the educational problems of the children would continue to produce push-outs in high school.

A few days before the election, a letter was mailed to only the Anglo people of the district. It stated that MAPA's three candidates were unrepresentative and nothing more than "puppets" for the organization. MAPA's barrio intelligence system heard rumors that the Superintendent had been instrumental in the writing of the letter. The leadership of MAPA disregarded the importance of the letter and decided to continue to concentrate its political efforts in the barrio. On the day of the election (April 14, 1969), MAPA was well organized to turn out the Chicano vote. A command post was established; all of MAPA's political machinery was put into operation from there. Baby-sitting and transportation services were provided, telephone calls were made to all registered barrio voters, and the sound truck was busy all day rousing up enthusiasm. As a double check block and section leaders canvassed every part of the barrio in the late afternoon to make sure those sympathetic to MAPA had voted.

MAPA's strategy and the hard work of members paid off: MAPA's three Chicano candidates won by a clear majority. Despite the "nasty" letter against MAPA, victory was achieved and the Cucamonga School District became the first school district in the state of California to come under the control of La Raza.

During this election, MAPA had unequivocally shown that political apathy could be transformed into real political power, providing there was leadership and organization. The Anglo community reacted ambiguously. Some of the Anglos could not believe that the "sleeping Mexican" had awakened to the political cry for educational change. Their stereotype of the Mexican as apathetic, lazy, and politically unsophisticated had been shattered by the Mexican voter turnout. Conversely, the Anglo voter turnout was small. The apathy that had denied the people of the barrio representation for so many years was not denying the Anglo control of the Cucamonga School District.

The three MAPA victors took office on July 1969. It was an unprecedented event--MAPA hoped that the door for educational change had finally been opened. MAPA's leadership made it clear to the three new school board members that it was their responsibility to see that children of the barrio received the best possible education. The victors were also told that they were not puppets of MAPA, that their ultimate responsibility was to the people who elected them. Nevertheless, the leadership made it clear to the new Board that MAPA would play a vigilant role in the educational system of the Cucamonga barrio.

The three inexperienced Chicano board members began to plan and organize a bilingual program that had earlier been approved by the old school board of trustees. This bilingual program had become a reality because of the pressure MAPA had applied. The Superintendent had committed himself to organize and structure the program before school began in September. However, in June the Superintendent was on a world tour and was not to return until September. With this precarious situation, the new school board attempted to pick up the pieces. A pilot bilingual program was implemented and several Mexican teacher aides were hired.

In the following months, MAPA closely followed the actions of the Superintendent: he continued to function as before, showing no signs of any commitment to bring about much needed changes. He complained about the lack of materials and criticized the curriculum of the tutorial program. His criticism was so severe and so petty as to include such irrelevancies as chairs left out of order and broken pieces of chalk left on the floor.

The proposals MAPA presented in January 1969 had essentially not been implemented. Aware of their inexperience, the mapista school board members became very cautious in pushing for the implementation of some of MAPA's proposals. Because of this, in November 1969, MAPA informed the barrio board members that a confrontation loomed large on the horizon unless more of its proposals were implemented and the Anglo Superintendent fired. The cardinal factor why some of MAPA's proposals had not been implemented, i.e., construction of ball park and more Chicano teachers, was the unresponsiveness of the Superintendent.

By January 1970, MAPA decided the time had come to flex its political muscle once more. The proposals that had been presented in January 1969 now became demands. The Superintendent continued to be MAPA's paramount target.

In the past, MAPA had utilized every possible channel to bring about necessary educational changes that would improve the education of Chicano children. (The leadership in January began to plan a new strategy.) But the strategy of moderation had proven ineffective; consequently, it was decided that a more militant or aggressive approach was to be used. MAPA not only mobilized La Raza from the barrio, but it also asked the assistance of Movimiento Estudiantial Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA), and United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) from the neighboring colleges and high schools. This coalition was unique in that various entities with diverse orientations were able to unite and function as "one" well-organized team.

Pivotal to MAPA's strategy was the selection of three speakers who would present the demands. The meetings were to have the aura of a courtroom because the rhetoric of the three speakers was "heavy" with allegations endeavoring to prove the incompetence of the Superintendent. The attacks on the Superintendent were primarily based on his unresponsiveness to the barrio, on his failure to implement available federal programs, and on his poor administrative performance. Having been presented the evidence by the MAPA spokesmen, he found it difficult to answer the allegations. The spokesmen's rhetoric, assisted by the clapping and stomping of feet and by the various student groups present, created such a psychological impact that the newspapers described the action taken by MAPA as militant. The members of MECHA who were wearing brown berets, were depicted by the newspapers as belonging to the para-military organization--The Brown Berets. Throughout the two meetings with the school board of trustees, MAPA continued to use this type of aggressive political strategy.

The second meeting was attended by some 300 people. Most of the people were from the barrio, but there were also sone fifty Anglos present. As the meeting progressed under the heavy attack of MAPA's three spokesmen, the Superintendent and some of the teachers who opposed MAPA's motives found it difficult to refute the allegations made. MAPA's spokesmen continued to harangue, belittle, and prove the imcompetence of the Superintendent. The Anglos present failed to become rhetorically involved: MAPA strategy worked well in silencing the few local Anglos. During the course of this meeting two Mexican Americans took offense at MAPA's demands and began to speak out of turn. The mapista president of the board ruled them out of order. MAPA's concluding statement was emotional and emphatic: "In the name of the people and in the name of change. WE DEMAND THE RESIGNATION OF THE SUPERINTENDENT."

The newspapers reacted as if the Soviet Union had invaded Western Europe. Such front page headlines as "Chicanos Berate Superintendent" and "MAPA Demands Ouster of Superintendent" put MAPA on the political map.

There were repercussions. Unhappy over the position MAPA had taken, two dissenters circulated a petition stating that MAPA did not represent the views of most of the people in the barrio, and that many of the mapistas were outsiders and had no right to meddle in the affairs of the barrio. They also accused the leadership of using La Raza from the barrio for selfish political reasons. Their actions were successful in engendering divisions among La Raza from the barrio. Some people supported MAPA, while others, ignorant of the issues, supported the two Anglo vendidos (sell-outs). After accumulating some 195 signatures, the petitioners presented the petition to the school board. MAPA responded indifferently to the petition of the dissenters. Instead of damaging the image of MAPA, the petition only enhanced its reputation as an effective action-oriented political organization.

Despite its radical image, MAPA continued to develop projects that would enhance its reputation as an action-oriented organization in the ensuing months. In January 1970, it became the West End MAPA chapter which now includes Ontario. Through clever political maneuvering, the leadership of the Cucamonga-Upland MAPA chapter succeeded in consolidating the members of the Ontario MAPA chapter. Through 1970, the West End MAPA implemented cultural and recreational programs for young and old. West End MAPA organized over 100 youths to participate in the Chicano moratorium and the 16th of September parade in Los Angeles. By early fall of 1970, its labor relations committee was confronting and successfully negotiating the creation of more employment opportunities for Chicanos.

Educational change through political action has been the greatest achievement of the West End MAPA chapter. Cucamonga today stands as an example of what La Raza can do when there is organization and leadership; but more importantly, when there are a few individuals who are committed to the advancement of their people. Today Cucamonga has not three, but four, Chicano board members out of a possible five. A bilingual and bicultural program has been implemented that seeks to enhance and not deprecate the culture of the Chicano. Chicano teachers and teacher aides have been hired to strengthen the viability of the bilingual-bicultural program. The administrators are also Chicanos. The Cucamonga School District is currently administered by a Chicano Superintendent. A free-lunch program has been implemented, and the ball park diamond that MAPA proposed in 1969 has been completed. Also, a once Anglo-dominated PTA is now controlled by Chicanos from the barrio. The 16th of September is now considered a legal holiday. The above accomplishments are only the beginning of more educational changes that will have to be made in order to provide La Raza of Cucamonga with a superior education.

After three years of frustration and hard work, MAPA has succeeded in politicizing La Raza in Cucamonga. Decades of apathy and indifference have been shattered by unprecedented activism. Years ago it was difficult, if not impossible, to get the barrio people to attend meetings. La Raza is beginning to feel that the schools are now providing "all" the children with a relevant and meaningful education. Parents are now taking an interest in the problems of the school district and participating in the district's various programs such as Head Start, Follow Through, Title VII, and others. When they believe they have a complaint to make against the school board or the Superintendent, parents attend board meetings en masse, ready to rhetorically address themselves to the issue. La Raza of Cucamonga has been awakened and politicized. No longer will they tolerate the inequities of over 120 years.

Educational and political victories have been many for La Raza of Cucamonga, but these victories have also precipitated some problems. In the process of bringing about educational change through direct political action, success has had its price. Some Mexican Americans, and especially Anglos, have been diametrically opposed and are adverse towards MAPA's involvement in the barrio. However, because of MAPA's unpredictable and flexible strategy of action, the Anglo has learned to respect and even fear the name MAPA. Minor confrontations have taken place within its ranks over priorities and strategies, but ultimately the leadership has been able to neutralize those individuals who have gone astray or have threatened to disrupt MAPA's educational programs. MAPA's educational involvement has been felt in Ontario and Upland. MAPA in these two communities has investigated cases of racial discrimination in education. It has also been very instrumental in taking a categorical stand on the bussing of Chicanos to other Anglo schools. It has encouraged high school students to organize MECHA or some other organization on campus that is relevant to their needs.

An important factor in ascertaining why West End MAPA has been successful in bringing about educational change is that MAPA has the ability to coordinate and work well with other movement-oriented Chicano organizations such as MECHA, UMAS, and the Brown Berets. Mutual respect and understanding has helped sustain this relationship.

By the latter part of 1970, the leadership of the West End MAPA chapter began to make an unprecedented move towards developing a new entity. This entity would seek to bring about unity and political and economic power to a factionalized and impotent people. There are three major reasons which ostensibly influenced the decision of the leadership in developing this unique entity:

1. After serious deliberation, it was concluded that MAPA had done much to enhance the Chicano political movement. However, because of MAPA's emphasis on politics, the leadership felt there was a need to create an entity that would be not only political, but social and economic in orientation.

2. The leadership also felt that in actuality, there was no "real" Chicano movement. The rhetoric and rumblings of a movement were there, but the organization, discipline, doctrine or ideology, and leadership were ostensibly nonexistent. Consequently, the results had been power struggles, prevalence of

ego trips among emerging leaders, an intensification of mistrust and jealousies among leaders and organizations, lack of unity among La Raza, and a multiplicity of Mexican-American organizations that in reality functioned only as "paper tigers."

3. The continued lack of Chicano political representation and the unresponsiveness of Anglo institutions in dealing with the problems of La Raza called for something new. It was concurred by sixteen leaders that the Democratic and Republican parties were not responsive or interested in bettering the lot of La Raza. It was felt that these two parties have been guilty of perpetuating the oppression and exploitation that have kept La Raza politically and economically subservient to the Anglo. Thus, a need was felt to create an entity that would seek to represent, defend, and serve the interests of La Raza.

With the assistance of professors from the University of California. Riverside; college students; La Raza from the barrios; and blue and white collar workers, the leadership of the West End MAPA chapter was able to formulate its own concept of "El Partido de la Raza Unida (PRU)."

Today, throughout the Southwest efforts are being done to "officially" create the PRU. In Texas and Colorado the PRU has already entered the area of politics. In Texas, by 1970 the PRU became a party contender and was able to achieve some political victories. Under the leadership of José Angel

Gutierrez, the PRU was successful in a number of school board and city council elections. In Colorado, the PRU ran Chicano candidates for 1970 local and state elections; however, it failed to elect anyone. In California, there are essentially three major movements trying to establish the PRU. All three, still in their embryonic stage, vary in orientation. In Oakland, the political orientation is ostensibly Marxist. In Los Angeles, the PRU varies in its political perspective--from socialists to cultural nationalists. The PRU being developed in the San Bernardino-Cucamonga area has a cultural nationalist orientation and, unlike the other two movements, it evolved from the experiences and philosophy of an action organization--the West End MAPA chapter.

Unlike the other PRU movements throughout the Southwest, which are ostensibly endeavoring to officially become political parties, the PRU being organized around the San Bernardino-Cucamonga area will ultimately function not only as a political party, but as a mass movement organization and a pressure group. The particular situation will dictate its true function. In areas where there are substantial numbers of Chicanos, PRU functions as a party--running candidates and wrestling power away from the Anglo. As a mass movement organization, PRU has a multifunctional thrust. This means that it functions as more than just a political apparatus. It provides services from social action programs such as youth recreational and cultural programs, legal aid, clinics, and special educational programs to such economic programs as housing, cooperatives, and corporations of all types. Concurrently, as a pressure group, PRU stands ready 365 days out of the year to exert the power necessary to pressure unresponsive politicians and institutions to bring about those political, economic, and social changes needed to better the lot of La Raza. Its strategy is predicated on flexibility--fluctuating from a position of moderation to one of progressive activism depending upon the nature of the situation. Thus, the PRU's action orientation is political, economic, and social.

There are three guiding principles which underlie the PRU's orientation: (1) an evolutionary doctrine, (2) cultural nationalism, and (3) the nation within a nation concept. Its evolutionary doctrine is dynamic rather than static. This doctrine seeks to synthesize the diverse political perspectives of La Raza so that ultimately no dominant perspective will prevail. This means that the doctrine of the PRU will mature through constant integration of new and meaningful ideas. There is a cultural nationalist thrust to the PRU's evolutionary doctrine; thus, its cultural nationalists orientation is predicated on the uniqueness of La Raza's culture and history. Pride and devotion to La Raza is the message this orientation propagates. Consequently, it unequivocally rejects the notion of assimilation or the melting pot scheme. The PRU's evolutionary doctrine and cultural nationalist orientation reinforces the nation within a nation concept.

The nation within a nation concept is difficult to define. This concept does not mean that the PRU will be a protagonist for seperatism. However, it does mean the PRU will seek to provide thrust for eventual unification of La Raza. In essence, this concept propounds political, economic, and cultural self-determination. Politically it means wrestling power away from the Anglo and bringing representation to La Raza. Economically it means making efforts to develop Raza enterprises, which will liberate La Raza from economic impotency. And culturally it means realizing the spiritual unification of La Raza.

Thus, in the final analysis, the PRU will seek to unite and bring about a nation within a nation within the existing political and economic structures of the United States.

Within the structure of PRU there are various components which are utilized to provide services to La Raza. The following components are found within the proposed state, region, district, and unit levels: political coordination, economic planning, social action, labor relations, legal assistance, communications and publications, security, and education.

In education, the PRU will take top priority in challenging the educational problems that confront La Raza. Better and more relevant education will underlie the educational efforts of PRU. Its educational programs consists of the following: the establishment of bilingual-bicultural education; the hiring of more Chicano teachers, counselors, and administrators in schools where a large concentration of Chicanos exists; more "accurate" literature on the Chicano emphasizing his contributions; the eventual establishment of Chicano controlled and oriented educational institutions; the establishment of Saturday and summer schools; the establishment of special educational programs such as tutorial programs, reading clinics, etc.; and Chicano educational entities that will seek to unite and help socialize youth to the principles of the PRU. Politically the PRU will strive to get the kind of representation on school boards that will bring about the implementation of its programs. By the same token, the PRU will endeavor to coordinate and assist the activities of other Chicano educational organizations of the federal, state, and local levels. The PRU, whenever necessary, will rely on political action to bring about educational change. One of its major objectives in education will be to have many Cucamongas and Crystal Citys throughout Aztlán. If La Raza is to extricate itself from the web of domination and from the shackles of poverty, it must seek to educate itself. Education will facilitate the actuality of the nation within a nation concept.

In conclusion, this author believes that Raza organizations come and go. However, one must remember that from the ashes of the burning of the phoenix, a new Raza movement is being developed that will rise to greater heights. As the phoenix never dies, neither will the movement of el Partido de la Raza Unida which seeks the promise of Aztlán.

Que Viva Nuestra Linda Raza--La Raza de Bronce.

THE GRASS ROOTS CHALLENGE TO EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONALISM IN EAST LOS ANGELES

by

Joan Moore and
Armida Martinez*

Claims to professional status by public school teachers represent claims to prestige, to deference, to attractive features of life style.[1] It is sometimes overlooked that claims to professional status also represent claims to power and control, and most especially, claims to immunity from "lay" or nonprofessional critics. In times of community pressure on the schools these claims to power and to immunity become important parts of the social process. This paper deals with exactly such a situation--of Mexican-American community pressure on the Los Angeles school system. Most accounts of school-community confrontations tend to be politically oriented, searching out the interests, strengths, and constituencies of the parties involved. We attempt a somewhat different task here, namely the analysis of how barrio-level critical concern with the schools was aroused and subsequently semi-institutionalized in various forms.

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Years ago Howard Becker noted the discomfort of many teachers when the legitimacy of their claims to professionalism was challenged by upper middle class, college educated, professional, and business-leader parents. In the past, ethnic parents of working class origin, on the other hand, have had neither the information, the self-confidence, nor the community standing to permit them normally to constitute much of a challenge to the teacher--since it is from just such sources that the teachers' claims to professionalism are most effective as a protection. It is fairly easy to get broad citywide support for professionally based claims to immunity from "ignorant" critics, despite the American ethos of community responsibility of the schools.

We will analyze what happened when teachers' claims to professional immunity lost legitimacy as their professional competence was successfully challenged. The community processes set in motion were varied; school responses were also varied. The period of time which forms the focus of this paper is short--1968 to the present--and emphasizes one aspect of this complex set of processes, i.e., the processes by which professional legitimacy was challenged, by which the legitimacy of barrio-level criticism was built, and some rather unexpected forms in which it became established. It might facetiously be said that we are documenting the growth of the barrio-level functional equivalent of the status privileges of the upper middle class parent vis-à-vis the schools. In the schools of East Los Angeles, this has been a painful process.

A Note on the Fragility of Teachers' Claims to Professionalism

One point on which most sociologists agree is that a profession requires "a system of theoretical knowledge which serves as the basis for the professional skill,"[2] and which also permits the professional to prescribe, with authority, a course of action for the clients. Professional authority, in turn, depends on the willingness of clients to accept it. It is contingent, in other words, on its legitimacy in the eyes of its subjects.

Teaching has for years aspired to professional status and authority on these grounds.[3] The upgrading of schools of education in colleges and the increasing emphasis on research all attest to the significance of the drive toward the first requisite of professionalism, i.e., a body of knowledge. The accomplishments have been limited, to say the least. The theories--and the empirical data--available in the educational literature provide in themselves only the most fragile basis for claims to professional authority. To a marked degree, these claims have been upheld by two circumstances. First, within the "profession," by the process of self-convincing--done by conferences, "in-service training," and other rituals that periodically permit the teacher to assert his continued concern with the acquisition of up-to-date knowledge. Second, and most important for this paper, by the fact that the urban, inner-city school in which the teacher practices his or her would-be professionalism is a totalitarian and invisible system. This means that the teachers' direct clients have no alternative source for a definition of education. Nor do they have alternatives in reaching an important part of their own personal identity tied into the pupil-teacher role relationship. Nor do their parents (or other potential advocates) see or understand much of what goes on in school.

We are suggesting, therefore, that professional authority in teaching rests on a dual process. Teachers convince themselves of the validity of their own claims on the one hand; on the other hand, poor, and particularly ethnic, clients have little alternative but to accept the norms offered to them.

No matter how tenuous, this dual basis is in most normal situations quite effective. Normative socialization is backed up by coercive socialization--by the threat of expulsion from the system as a final resort. For some years, however, the situation has not been normal. The teachers' claims to professional authority have been challenged by elitists and by inner-city problems alike.

Professional Authority and the Mexican-American Child

Mexican Americans represent a special case of this kind of challenge. Educationists have acknowledged for decades that Mexican-American children represent a problem in the application of professional skills. This problem has been approached by the usual professional rituals of calling a conference, doing some research.[4] As we all know, the conferences and research have had very little effect on the classroom behavior of teachers of Mexican Americans.

There have also been challenges from advocates of the clientele, e.g., from Mexican-American groups attacking segregation in California and Texas, attacking the professional bases for the classification of Mexican-American children as mentally retarded. Such political and legal attacks are among the indicators both of a growing concern and capacity of Mexican-American groups to enact structural changes in the schools.

In 1964-65, Mexican-American teachers organized themselves into a special professional association, the Association of Mexican-American Educators. In some communities it was a social group, a group searching for new knowledge, but its general function appears to have been political--lobbying, launching, and supporting Mexican-American candidates both for elective school offices and for appointive positions.

Both the legalistic and the professional advocacy, however, have been largely invisible to the Mexican-American community as a whole. They have operated largely at an elite level, and also largely within the system they have been criticizing.

No matter how useful and fruitful such efforts may be, in our judgment they have not raised serious questions of the legitimacy of professional authority among Mexican-American pupils and parents nor among Anglo teachers and administrators. This kind of challenge has been the outcome of a series of region-wide actions by students, that is, the clients themselves. In most places where these high school walkouts have occurred, they have provoked little more than a series of repressive counter-measures and a few ultimate concessions to the demands of students. In East Los Angeles--the first and the most substantial of the school protests--a very complex set of processes was put in motion, involving Mexican-American students and parents, Anglo and Mexican-American teachers and administrators, that appear to have resulted in some degree of institutionalization of client-centered criticism of teachers. It is this series of events--the walkouts of 1968 and their aftermath--that forms the focus of this paper.

East Los Angeles and Its Educational Problems

East Los Angeles is symbolically and otherwise an important center for Mexican Americans. An area of substantial Mexican concentration for close to fifty years, recent estimates place more than a quarter of a million persons of Spanish surname in the area, more than a fourth of the estimated one million Mexican Americans in Los Angeles County.[5] As census figures on school attainment clearly show, Mexicans have always had problems with the schools. The East Los Angeles high schools have among the highest dropout rates in the state. With a city-wide attrition rate of 26.8 per cent between tenth grade classes measured in 1966 and graduates in 1969, all of the seven high schools in the area were above the city average. Four had attrition rates surpassing 40 per cent.[6] A school district study comparing 1968 graduates with dropouts of the same class showed that while students of Spanish surname formed 15 per cent of the graduates, they formed 26 per cent of the dropouts. A high proportion (approximately three-quarters) of these youngsters came from homes where Spanish or a mixture of Spanish and English was the language spoken.[7]

There is little doubt that these data represent a long-standing problem in the area. Using different measures of dropouts, six of the East Los Angeles high schools in 1960-61 and all seven in 1965-66 showed dropout rates well above the city median.[8] One of the authors of this paper, herself a Los Angeles school dropout, remembers the Mexican barrios of Los Angeles as ringed with schools for delinquent girls, for delinquent boys, with "dumb schools" (escuelas de burros, as they were called), with reform schools, with endless dropouts. The feeling conveyed to young Chicanos in the 1930's and 1940's was that the teachers were really sacrificing themselves in trying to teach "you Mexicans" anything. In the 1930's, this desparately poor family of seven children was clothing itself with NRA clothing. The cloakrooms of every school were filled with lines of NRA shirts stamped with the blue eagle and the notice "Government property: not to be sold." Embarrassed because she was very thin and because she didn't have gym clothing, she began cutting class. The solution was to send her to one of the schools for delinquent girls. (Most recently these schools have been named "opportunity schools" in line with the California propensity for shelving problems by creating euphemisms for what are essentially punitive institutions.)

Though as elsewhere in the Southwest, most Mexican parents were in no condition even to think of challenging the education their children were receiving, there had been a history of protests. A representation to the Board of Education was made by Mexican-American teachers as early as 1955. In 1964, a newly formed community organization, composed largely of Mexican-American professionals, created an educational subcommittee. This group attempted, both with individual Board members and at School Board meetings, to interject data relevant to Chicanos into a lengthy report on "minority problems" which had almost entirely ignored the Mexican Americans. In 1967 some of these same individuals arranged a state advisory commission hearing for East Los Angeles, which involved Chicano teachers and high school students for the first time. The school system made only a token response to these and other semi-elite attempts to sensitize teaching professionals to the special problems of the children in East Los Angeles. Significantly, many of the participants in these early and frustrated efforts were to turn up in 1968 as activists in the walkouts, in the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee, and in later changes in the community. Thus before the militant actions of March 1968, there had been a background of professional complaint, largely at an elite level and largely contained within the system.

Militant Mobilization, 1968

Early in 1968 a group including this "elite" level of

Mexican-American educators and college students assisted high school students in planning militant action--after yet another rebuff by the school board. Walkouts were planned for May (a new and deliberate strategy), but erupted spontaneously in March, with all four major East Side high schools involved within a few days. Some 15,000 students were affected; nothing like it had been seen in any Mexican community in this country. The purpose of this paper is not to detail all of the processes that led to or followed the walkouts. Rather we will focus on the phases in this movement which resulted in greater or reduced grass roots participation and concern with the schools.

Briefly, immediately after the walkouts, a group known as the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee was formed, expanding and articulating a set of student demands for educational changes of a vast and far-reaching nature. The EICC proposals incorporated the expression of a variety of participants: the proposed changes would affect administrative and academic procedures, the characteristics of food in the cafeteria, the teacher-pupil ratio, student rights, and school facilities. The earliest phase of the EICC (several weeks to two months) was predominantly concerned with such educational issues and with urgent problems stemming from the walkouts. Expectations of all participants were apparently very high. There was considerable optimism that many of these changes could, in fact, be implemented.

In the course of these meetings a range of grievances was raised and documented; the dropout rates and reading problems of Mexican-American students began to receive wide publicity. A May meeting of the school board at Lincoln High School--the first ever held on the East Side--drew a large audience to hear the point of view of the activists. Specific abuses began to be reported and discussed in the group's meetings--a procedure that was to become an integral part of EICC's meetings, especially when the case held out some real possibility of successful remedial action if the EICC confronted the school authorities.

Establishment of the EICC

Possibly it may have surprised all the participants, but the EICC became an important East Side group, meeting every week. The topics raised and dealt with on the floor began to become more concrete as some of the urgencies and tensions following the walkouts diminished. The group began a period of open forum discussion. One observer was reminded of the interaction in an old-fashioned Mexican funeral society; this was a period, apparently, of maximum participation from the barrio level. Much of the appeal centered around the identification generated by the public presentation of individual cases of problems with the school. These cases, or "grievances," were selected for generalization around the issue of prejudiced teachers, e.g., the case of the boy who was erroneously subjected to disciplinary action after being confused with another boy because "all Mexicans look alike," and also with an eye to the chances of success. The tactics that were used involved sending delegations from the EICC--a relatively new phenomenon in East Side schools. (There was some picketing, and experiments were made with wide dissemination of material on student rights, as when 10,000 leaflets were distributed regarding Los Angeles school laws on corporal punishment.) Two lawyers were continually available to provide the security and the research background necessary for such comparatively bold actions.

Politicization of the EICC

There are different opinions on the characteristics of later phases of the EICC, but there is no doubt about the factionalism. Topics raised at the meetings had always shown a tendency to broaden, to move away from specific educational issues to broader community issues. Specifically, the question of police brutality was always either latent or open from the outset. Political activism became more important as the city of Los Angeles reacted to the group legally or politically. These reactions were extreme: thirteen of the men who had helped arrange the school walkouts were arrested on felony-conspiracy charges. Thirty-five were arrested after the fall sit-in at the Board of Education, and six more Chicano activists were arrested in a demonstration against the Governor of California in April of 1969. In fact, Chicano militancy was expressed in educational causes during this period. There is a virtual litany of legal cases connected with education, all mobilizing tactics for the militants. Each of these was a legitimate topic for the EICC as well. Often such discussions were "packed" with college students not normally in attendance. Charges of communist dominance or take-over attempts, more or less dormant since the early days of the school walkouts, became more common. Statements of ideology became frequent items on the agenda.

Some participants felt that the meetings were increasingly dominated by the more professional members, while the barrio people contributed less and less. "It became a fight between two kinds of intellectuals," according to one observer. These two kinds of intellectuals, to put it succinctly, were ideologues and bureaucrats. Discussions became acrimonious, and were far more sophisticated than most parents could follow. The EICC, in addition to its normal functions, apparently also became a platform for the enunciation of what can loosely be called preformed opinions, whether they reflect preformed political positions or preformed professional positions. The rhetoric, the insults, and the obscenity that frequently accompanied them were offensive as well as irrelevant to many barrio people, whose participation is the concern of this paper.

Institutionalization of the EICC

Throughout this period there were continuing negotiations with school authorities about the possibility of institutionalizing the EICC. Ever since July of 1968, there had been months of meetings between EICC leaders and district administrators, finally climaxing in the creation of a Mexican-American Education Commission to advise the school board, announced in late February 1969. In addition, the EICC had racked up one major victory, the abolition of I.Q. testing in the first and second grades, announced in late January 1969. Other less conspicuous systemwide victories were moving the EICC away from the barrio level of participation and were, perhaps, becoming forerunners of the institutionalization of the Committee into Commission form, in which grass roots leaders became grass roots spokesmen.

The creation of the Mexican-American Education Commission was seen as a triumph. Most of the commissioners elected had been active leaders or participants in the EICC; the composition of the Commission reflected some of the EICC processes and the low level of barrio participation. In four categories, there were fifteen educators, eleven "professionals," seven parents, and seven college students in the new Commission. "The leadership moved over," according to one informant, and for a couple years that was the end of the EICC in all its significant functions. Though some of the new commissioners were skeptical and fearful of co-optation, others felt that now the victory was won, the battle was over, and the besiegers were within the walls of the establishment.

The two years since the creation of the Commission have been years of considerable struggle--largely outside the scope of this paper. The school board repeatedly failed to live up to its implicit bargain with the Commission. The scope of the Commission's duties and responsibilities were deliberately left rather vague at the outset. There were severe budgetary limitations, uncooperative administrators, increasing needs for technical and professional knowledge to cope with the increasingly complex problems brought to them. In short, the

Commission struggled with the whole array of problems that any such group might expect to have. For our purposes, the point is that the Commission's efforts have, in fact, moved the battle grounds, so that they retain the function of questioning teachers' professional authority, although no longer with the comforting feeling that "the community" is with them. Their efforts are addressed to long-range and rather sophisticated problems, handled at a rather sophisticated level.

The later phases of the EICC and the functioning of the Mexican-American Advisory Commission disappointed many community level activists--matters had moved away from meaningful community participation or control. The Commission, in particular, had been legitimated as "spokesman" for the community, which to some smacked of the familiar patrón syndrome. This issue is an ever present and always sensitive one in Mexican-American communities. There was also disappointment among many that the Commission failed to become a true clearinghouse for all Mexican-American educational problems, as well as the feeling that the scope of its activities and powers had been severely constrained. Despite such clear signs of co-optation, however. there are others that feel that the Commission remains a source of pressure on claims of professional knowledge and competence in teaching Mexican-American children. Though no longer pulling in barrio-level participation, the EICC and the MAEC appear to represent the only cases in large cities (out of the many subsequent walkouts and demonstrations elsewhere) in which Mexican-American community criticism of the professional authority of educators has been successfully established and institutionalized.

Another Consequence: The Professional Alienation of Mexican-American Educators

A major consequence of the walkouts was the exacerbation of the latent role conflict of Chicano high school teachers. The handful of Mexican Americans who were teaching in East Los Angeles high schools were all more or less under suspicion as soon as the students walked out. Those who were openly sympathetic with the students were subject to a variety of intra-faculty and administrative sanctions. Two major coalitions with sympathetic Anglo teachers foundered on the rock of activism. The more conservative teachers felt that for a Chicano teacher to be community oriented was to be "unprofessional." The liberal Anglo teachers felt that to commit themselves to a picket line was beyond the limits of compatible behavior.

In effect, there appears to have been an alienation, both social and ideological, from fellow teachers. Educators who had entered teaching dedicated to "bring awareness to our Mexican-

American parents" became intense critics of the schools and of the professional pseudo-omniscience that legitimated the schools. One result was a shift in emphasis of the local chapter of the Association of Mexican-American Educators and a continuous search for new norms. The process is of great interest not only to educators, but to students of the Chicano movement in general. Alienation from normal role supports associated with an achieved (i.e., professional) status meant inevitably a search for new supports--in the small group of equally alienated fellow professionals, in the attempt to operationalize and give meaning to such terms as "community accountability" and "responsibility."

In effect, this "deprofessionalization" is really a search for a new basis for professional claims. What might be called the "Chicano-ization" of AMAE is a second major consequence of the walkouts, with an effect on the schools. A semi-institution, AMAE in East Los Angeles presents a continuing challenge to the legitimacy of professional norms, as practiced in local schools. Increasingly allied with parent groups, the Chicano teachers are engaged in a grass roots based search for professional alternatives.

Generalizations Regarding Community Processes and Professional Authority

It is true that the walkouts of 1968, the EICC, and the Mexican-American Education Commission are part of a unique historical sequence. But sociological analysis of this sequence of events and comparison with similar sequences may allow some basis for generalizing about effective delegitimation of the professional authority of teachers.

The EICC served a variety of functions for the various groups involved. For the Mexican-American teachers, the EICC appears to have facilitated a shift in primary reference groups. For the Chicano movement--and particularly for its college segment and the "professional revolutionaries"--it appears to have served as a major legitimating vehicle. (The EICC does not seem to have given them either a strong precedent for responsible community relationships or a sense of accountability to the community, as was the case with AMAE.) For the parents who live in the barrio the question is more complex. Some of the EICC techniques probably had some effect. The EICC publicized dropout rates and reading scores; it sent children with slips to their teachers that said "Teacher, teach me to read." The EICC circulated notices with excerpts from the law on corporal punishment. These techniques undoubtedly confirmed the aggressiveness of aggressive parents. For concerned but less activist parents, it probably raised some real doubts about the legitimacy of normal educational processes. The EICC may also have had an effect in its implication, case by case, that the Los Angeles schools could be held accountable for the treatment as well as the education of children.

But with regard to parent reactions, there is evidence on the other side as well, evidence that the normally rather conservative Mexican-American parents were upset by the militant tactics used during and after the walkouts. Data gathered in 1965 and 1966 indicate that little contact and considerable respect characterize the attitudes of Mexican-American parents with low educational attainment[9] toward the schools. Picketing, emotional rhetoric, television newcasts, police cars, student suspensions; there is evidence that at every one of the militant actions from the initial blowouts at the four East Side high schools to the police tactical alert called in 1970 after the meetings at Roosevelt, there was considerable parental anxiety about militancy as a tactic.

Thus we would speculate that ambivalence was created at the barrio level--some loss of legitimacy for the teaching professionals, but also a suspicion of the protests. The high visibility of respectable, even conservative Mexican

Americans in leadership positions on the EICC surely helped alleviate some of this concern, but the recurring public events probably kept it alive.

All this is hypothetical. What does seem clear is that the barrio-level people were spectators rather than participants in the increasingly professional interaction at the EICC. This process became much more pronounced when the Mexican-American Advisory Commission (which had little room even for spectators) began to operate. In effect, the Commission was a form of institutionalization of community pressure on the school system, not dependent on crises. The "Chicano-ization" of Mexican-American teachers is another shift of importance that resulted from the militant mobilization against the schools and on university departments of education. The attempt of both groups apparently has been to maintain some contact with barrio-level parents. The formation of PICA, Parents for Involvement in Community Action, in 1970 (around the teachers' strike), and its close relationship with the Association of Mexican-American Educators indicates the importance to this group of such a search for a barrio-level source of norms for professional behavior. There have been serious attempts to upgrade and develop the parental level of participation in school concerns. PICA probably now represents the newest form of parental concern--with weekly meetings, with a developing sophistication in both expectations regarding school change, and with strategies to bring about change.

Other Forms of Institutionalization of Barrio-Level Pressure on the Schools

We have suggested that new forms of institutionalized spokesmanship were an outcome of the community processes initiated by the militant mobilization of 1968--all one or more steps removed from the barrio level, whose continued participation has been difficult to sustain.

There are other community groups as well, operating less directly and less visibly because they are less politicized. Since the mid-1960's a variety of so-called "poverty agencies" have been operating in East Los Angeles. Increasingly their decision-making levels have come to be staffed by native-born barrio-level individuals who were promoted through the ranks. In East Los Angeles, many of these people know each other--through activities in the Chicano movement (the EICC among other groups), through job mobility from one agency to another, through long-standing personal friendships, and in some cases through kinship ties.

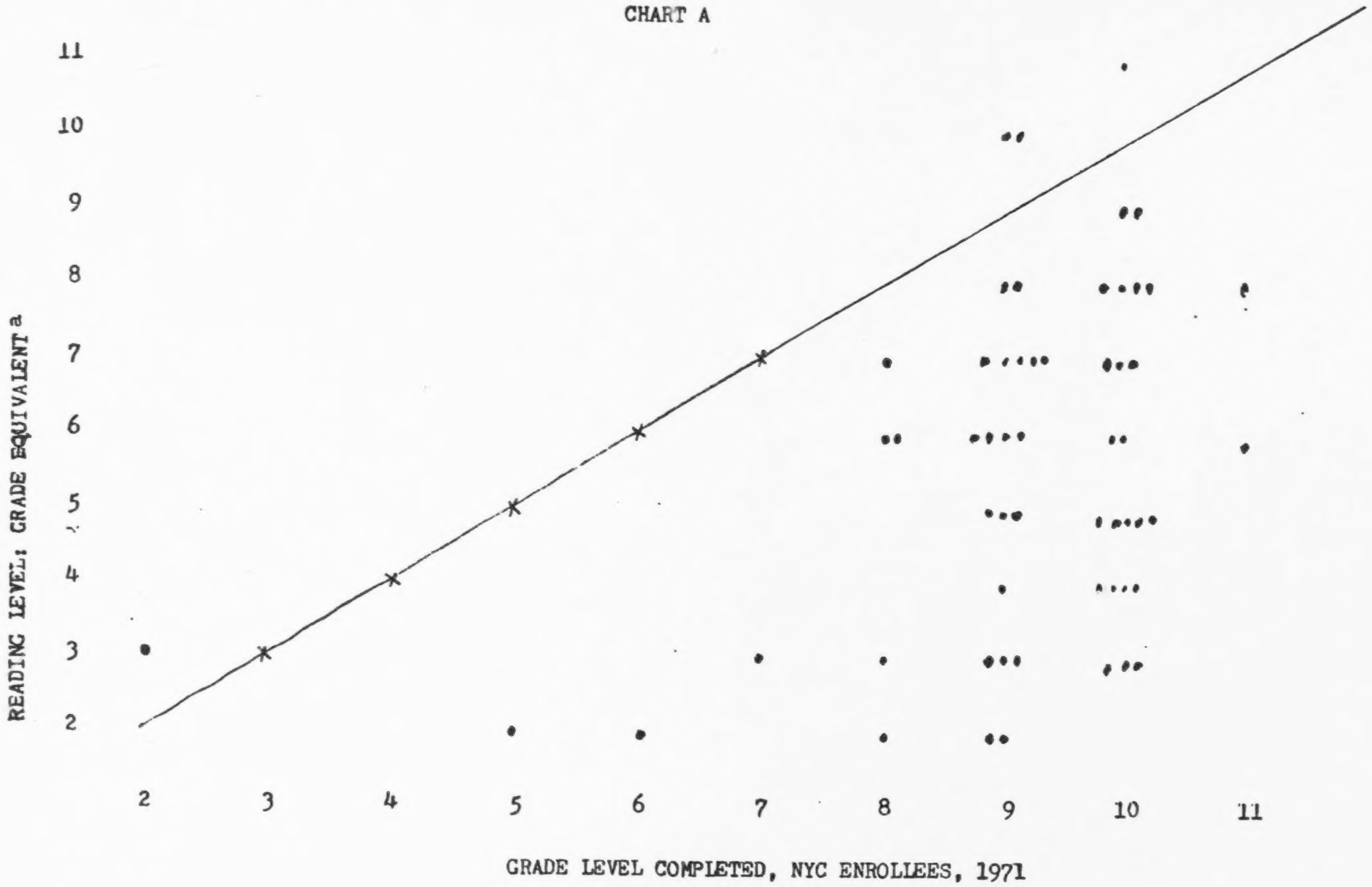
There is a kind of informal network throughout such agencies, which although largely ignored by academics concerned with the Chicano movement, functions importantly both in the community-based movement and also in creating a sense of "community" in East Los Angeles. Though such individuals may be economically mobile, they retain barrio-level ties of prime significance through their families and childhood friends.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that contradictions between operating rules of these bureaucracies and the needs of the clientele served by them constitute a source of many kinds of frustration for the barrio-level staff. Under certain conditions, this frustration can be focussed on a single "establishment institution" and translated into pressure. In the case of youth-serving agencies, this pressure is a pressure on the schools. We are suggesting that such agencies form an actual or potential source of barrio-level pressure on the professional claims of teachers in East Los Angeles. This source is relatively independent of the sequence of events just analyzed, though related to it in that both the specifically educational activism and the indirect activism of the poverty agencies are aspects of the Chicano movement, as defined by the participants. The agency we will be dealing with is the Neighborhood Youth Corps' East Los Angeles out-of-school dropout program.

NYC Clientele and Staff Reactions

NYC is a federally funded program designed to rehabilitate the failures of the school system. It was started in East Los

CHART A



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[a] Measured by Gates Reading Survey when students are admitted to the program.

Angeles in 1965, initially with 500 "slots" or positions for young people aged sixteen through twenty-one who met certain poverty criteria.

These young people usually had dropped out after the ninth or tenth grade; but, they read at the average at a fifth grade level (See Chart A). Some could do no more than write their names. Though these statistics may be commonplace to the educationist, their impact, case by case, on the staff of barrio-level origin is very deep. Many of them began to ask, some of them for the first time, how a kid could get through the tenth grade without being able to read--and they began to get answers. "My teachers would give me take-home exams and my friends would write them for me." In other cases, after studying their transcripts, one can only conclude that since the kids made no trouble in class and showed no signs of delinquency, the teachers just passed them through--without caring.

By the criteria of the program, these youngsters come from poverty-level homes with many family problems. Again, this is a familiar statistic. But again, case by case, the norm begins to assume different proportions: Problems stemming from a combination of poverty and pride were seen by the staff as transformed into "educational problems." One seventeen-year-old girl, the second oldest in a family of six, lives with her father (in his seventies and who has had two nervous breakdowns and is senile) and her seventy-year-old aunt. Because the girl had almost no clothes, she began to cut classes. The truant officer, without investigating, stereotyped the girl as not interested in school. She was brought to the girls' vice principal and discouraged from continuing school. In fact, the girl is very bright and wanted to become a pediatrics nurse. She had volunteered two summers as a hospital worker. When the girls' vice principal was confronted by NYC staff over the case, her reaction was one of great surprise, and a suggestion that the girl should have gone to Goodwill for clothes.

For barrio-level staff that have been through almost identical experiences ten, twenty, and thirty years ago in the same school system, such cases--followed through as they are--lead to several consequences. There is a profound reinterpretation of one's own life experiences. One of the authors of this paper began remembering her admiration for a probation worker encountered in one of her runaway trips to juvenile hall, and her growing desire to become a social worker. She remembers confiding this ambition to one of the teachers in continuation school. She was laughed at and told that there was no possibility whatsoever that she could make such a goal. To find an almost identical case, treated almost identically, is an important factor in understanding the motivations of barrio-level staff in such poverty agencies. Individual life experience turns into indignation and, potentially, into driving motivation towards advocacy.

The clientele of the agency also have very little trust in formal authorities of any kind. They have very little trust in themselves. They are completely "turned-off" to school. Generally they have little motivation for any long-range personal goals. They have very little knowledge about educational or job opportunities. They have very little responsibility toward the "normal" values. They are late, miss appointments, seem to lack a sense of values, and so on. Many of them have been involved in gangs and in drugs; for the girls, there are constant pregnancies, home-made abortifacients, and babies. For almost all, boys and girls, there have been serious problems with parents.

NYC Program and Problems

Phase I of the NYC program lasted until September of 1970. Basically, this was a work experience and on-the-job training program in which enrollees worked for thirty-two hours for $1.25 an hour (later raised to $1.60). Placements were limited to government and non-profit agencies. Though there were many operating problems as well as successes during the years under Phase I, there was one continuing problem. Consider the kinds of jobs that boys and girls of this kind might be immediately interested in. And consider the places of employment available in the program. Girls coming into the program had very little choice in terms of work experience, and boys had even less. Girls got clerical placements; boys, janitorial. Furthermore, this constraint often meant stifling a latent interest. For example, many girls come into the program interested in cosmetology, which was not available. Such girls were placed in office situations in which they had little interest. The same dropout process often began--absenteeism, tardiness, disillusion, a feeling of being inadequately dressed and out of place. The program was shoving an experience down the girl's throat, just as the schools had done. Her skill level was usually so low and the training given her so badly done, that she often repeated the school experience of not being able to perform at a task she was totally uninterested in. All too often, the NYC staff found themselves administering, in the name of progress, the same kind of essentially punitive program that had victimized the staff itself.

Another issue became significant for the staff during Phase I. Programs designed to "help" the poor have been increasingly under attack as a "useless" siphoning off of the Taxpayers' money. Actual analysis of the costs and work performed by some of the East Los Angeles NYC enrollees led the staff to totally different conclusions--in fact, the conclusion that the program seriously exploited enrollees is inescapable. In 1968, there were nineteen enrollees performing a variety of tasks in a federal agency--most significantly, interviewing Spanish-speaking clients who would otherwise have been under serious handicaps. According to the written evaluation of agency personnel, after two months most of these enrollees were performing at the level of a GS-2 employee. A GS-2 earns a minimum annual salary of $4,106, plus fringe benefits. The NYC enrollees were being paid $3,048 with no fringe benefits. This saved the taxpayers $1,058 per enrollee--or was it an exploitation of the young people? As with other programs (e.g., for old people) in which agencies have been "given" the services of workers for a period of time, not one of the enrollees from East Los Angeles was ever hired by the agency to which he was assigned, no matter how well his work had been evaluated. Thus, the staff had to face the feeling that they might, in fact, be agents of exploitation of the enrollees.

Not much could be accomplished by the staff during the years of Phase I to express this growing sense of frustration and anger. The impenetrable complexities of the bureaucracy denied staff members' input. It took the imposition of the Phase II program to arouse their frustrations and turn them into advocates, particularly vis-à-vis the schools.

Phase II: NYC Program and Focus on the Schools

The first problem was a consequence of the fact that the program was entirely redesigned by the Department of Labor in cooperation with a private consulting firm. Invariant national guidelines were drawn up with no consultation whatsoever with the local staff. It is characteristic of barrio-level staff in the agency, as well as in others, that they are not very experienced at national-level politicking. A report detailing the special problems of East Los Angeles was submitted, and a small delegation (including one East Los Angeles staff member and two enrollees) was sent to Washington to attempt local modifications. A temporarily gratifying but ultimately unproductive interview with the Secretary of Labor was the outcome. At the local site, a stormy but equally unproductive meeting was held with the delegate from the Department of Labor.

The second problem came in the fact that budget cuts were simultaneous with the new program and reduced the number of slots available to a total of eighty-nine. (Compare this number with the numbers of dropouts, indicated earlier in this paper, for some notion of the frustration evoked by this move.) The rational guidelines set up under the program involved a serious violation of the operating philosophy that had been formulated by the East Los Angeles staff, serious difficulties in implementation in Los Angeles, and some problems of symbolic degradation.

The new emphasis was to be on education, with the age limit lowered to seventeen. Operationally, this meant ten hours a week on education, ten on skills training, and ten in work. The violation of philosophy was two-fold. First, and most important, there was no freedom of choice. Although many of the staff value education highly, they feel very strongly that education must be the choice of the enrollee and not something that has been shoved down his throat. Second, it must be recalled that these are recent dropouts, totally alienated from the school. To force them back into the same school situation is not rehabilitative. There are many underlying reasons for dropouts, and one of the most important is the imposition on barrio young people of someone else's sense of values, cultural background, and decisions. Again, the NYC staff found themselves in the position of forcing children, against their interests, into failure situations. Their new advocacy involved the establishment and control of their own classes, taught in the offices, with extremely close liaison with the teachers. Education must be the children's choice, not the staff's.

Another major difficulty with the program is that even if the teachers and counsellors manage to motivate the enrollee to go back to school, the school often refuses him admittance because of his previous record. Furthermore, the in-school NYC program, run by school district employees rather than community people, has consistently refused to cooperate in making slots available to the returning enrollees. This uncooperative attitude was justified by budgetary limitations. However, it was also clear that the in-school staff did not wish to be burdened by the often physically unattractive and "potentially troublesome" problems of the returning out-of-school enrollee. In choosing enrollees, the in-school NYC in Los Angeles "creamed." That is to say, it selected the attractive youngster who had only one problem, that is, financial problems. The out-of-school NYC component, even with its slot limitations, took the most difficult youngster. This difference between school personnel and barrio personnel in their approach to common budgetary limitations. These problems and conflicts were acute; they led the NYC barrio staff to a school-by-school confrontation with the functionaries of the in-school NYC. There were confrontations with school counselling staff, principals, and school district personnel. The process led, in short, to an exhausting series of general advocacy encounters.

Both the confrontations on the national level and the endless local disputes needed to solve relatively simple operating problems, have had some important results. The community-level staff became convinced that sincerity and dedication among both Anglo and Chicano teachers is no substitute for knowledge in relating to problem youngsters. (It is ironic that the term "sincerity and dedication" is used by teaching professionals in dealing with their clientele. One would assume that, as with a physician, specialized knowledge would be its own guarantee of a steady interest in the basic problems.) It also became evident that some teachers and administrators were completely self-centered and career-oriented, in fact, that they were masking closed minds as "professionalism." When barrio-level staff diagnosed and remedied specific situations, there should have been a willingness on the part of school staff to give credence, or at least a hearing, to this expert "inside" knowledge. Instead, the school administrators and staff often acted as if the NYC staff was trying to take something away, rather than contribute to the schools. The schools behaved as if there were a competition, rather than a potential collaboration. In addition, the barrio-level staff were patronized; often the mask of prejudice and the rigidity were very obvious. The net result was worse than the inevitable slow destruction of morale. It was a substantial, experience-based, distrust of a "professionalism" that is an excuse and a tactic, and both naive and destructive at the same time.

A direct anecdote illustrates part of this point. The type of youngster enrolled at NYC is very likely to be involved with drugs. No meaningful anti-narcotics program existed in the schools. Since drugs are an increasingly serious problem on all campuses in 1971, the school system devised what is essentially a control program in default of an educational or preventive program. This is essentially a "turn-them-in" program. NYC officials were told that a policeman should be called, even the first time a student is caught with drugs, because the policeman "knows about the family background and the patterns in the neighborhood at the time." It should be noted that East Los Angeles has a serious drug problem, seriously exacerbated by a punitive approach, among adults as well as youngsters. Teachers were informed that they should be agents of the law. "Get the evidence, call the police. notify the parents."

The staff argued that such a ruling would be disruptive and particularly destructive of the relationship between teacher and NYC pupil. The school official responded that the teachers "should confine themselves to teaching, not get involved personally, with students, or with their drug problems, or welfare problems, or community problems." One of the staff asked if such involvement was not, in fact related to good teaching--especially for this kind of youngster. The school official's response was a flat "No."

Shortly afterwards, NYC contracted a self-help agency of Mexican-American ex-addicts to orient enrollees and staff to narcotics--to the general social context of narcotics use in East Los Angeles, and to the community and the problems of Chicanos as a whole. This general preventive orientation program, combined with strict staff imposed rules, has resulted in a notable decrease in drug problems among enrollees. But it is important that professional-calibre help came from the community's own resources. The school offered nothing but a control solution.

Another major operating difficulty in the new program concerns job placement. It is very difficult in Los Angeles County to place a young person with low reading and spelling skills and no car. It is difficult both to find an agency willing to hire a youngster for two hours a day, or to give the youngster the supportive help that will permit him to perform at an acceptable level during those two hours. The work requirement under Phase II guidelines was thus another invitation to failure--even more so than under the previous Phase I program. This was made worse by yet another Phase II innovation, a drop in pay of 35 cents per hour. The sum is trivial, but meaningful to the youngsters involved.

The noneducational operating difficulties of NYC, in short, added considerably to the frustration in the staff which was working on a case-by-case basis. Each of these operating difficulties was yet another problem to the enrollees who already had overwhelming personal and family handicaps to overcome. And each of the operating difficulties thus became part of the process we are describing.

Broader questions are asked, and the feelings are strong. At meetings to map out some constructive effort, questions were met with "We have no funds." Be it Economic Opportunity (EOP) or High Potential Programs or simply the right text books and equipment for the East Los Angeles young people, always there are monetary obstacles. A trip to the Beverly Hills High School, with its ample tax base, its permissiveness and true learning atmosphere, broadened the base of questioning for the staff. Even if local tax revenue permits such disparities within one county, can't the tax base be changed? Can't the money being spent overseas be spent at home? The argument that money spent on war and overseas programs "fights communism" finds little support among a staff trying to rehabilitate those same vatos locos who are used by some East Los Angeles revolutionaries as the new soldiers of the revolution. The cutback of domestic programs adds yet more fuel to this kind of local political fire, which is easily fed in a community that must face police brutality, bad education, poverty, and injustice in the judicial system and in the prisons. Community feedback to the program reiterates and amplifies the frustrations of the staff: "We know our people are right and there's nothing we can do about it. If we can't deliver services, we're just giving lip service."

These views had an impact not only on the thinking but also on the actions of the staff. NYC staff members, for example, were actively involved in the coalition of nineteen similar agencies (delegate agencies to Economic Youth Opportunity

Agency) that were working together. This coalition was first the East Los Angeles Ad Hoc Committee and later became the Chicano Caucus. This coalition tried to change the patterns under which East Los Angeles projects are funded and monitored. There is little doubt that NYC staff activity in such efforts stem from the general frustration described above and from the fact that this frustration is shared among the informal network of upgraded barrio-level personnel.

The second action is more directly relevant. When a group of parents and professionals started a "freedom school" immediately after the 1970 walkouts and suspensions at Roosevelt High School, the project soon collapsed. The extremists wanted to run the school. The barrio parents generally felt that it was not a "real" school and the diploma would not be "real" or valuable. As we noted earlier, it is difficult to sustain barrio-level participation on an ad hoc basis. In effect, NYC attempted a similar program on a smaller scale.

On the basis of their frustration with the schools and some experience with their own successes and failures, the staff really wanted a program to identify potential dropouts--and to deal with them in a separate, community-based classroom. Eventually this program would equip students to cope with the school systems. It would lead them back in. But realistically, enrollees knew that the school structure would not change soon. So barrio staff people attempted an expansion of their own program, assuming that if a young person can find and maintain his identity, and become socially aware of himself and his surroundings, he can be equipped to cope with problems in the here-and-now school. The kind of youth that would participate in this community centered, self-contained classroom would be potential dropouts who are gang oriented, leaders of gangs, show tendencies toward drugs, are low achievers in school, have police records, and have school records of delinquency and truancy.

The proposal was denied funding. And this is where the problem of credibility comes in. If NYC had obtained funding, with the cooperation but not interference of the school system in permitting autonomy and regular school credits, the staff would have felt that there is some hope for modifying the present rigid structure. It would have shown that the schools can treat barrio-level programs not as competitors, but rather as collaborators in overcoming some of the gross educational problems in East Los Angeles. The disappointment at the denial of funding simply confirms the staff's feeling that they have not attained credibility.

School Processes and the Community

This paper documents the history of mobilization and institutionalization of grass roots community concern with, and pressure on, the schools of East Los Angeles. The prime question for research, of course, is the effect such actions have had on the school system. To many of the Chicano participants, the effect seems to be trivial. But this conviction, it was suggested earlier, stems in some measure from the fact that, on the one hand, Chicano participants were aroused for the first time to the abuses of the schools and that, on the other hand, their expectations were extremely high.

Unfortunately, there is little systematic evidence on the schools' responses to this new definition of the problems of educating Mexican-American youngsters. Certainly there have been responses that could be called "control solutions." Immediately after the walkouts, there was a tightening up of controls in the high schools which lasted beyond the "crisis" period. In addition, observers report an increase in the presence of police on high school campuses, both as armed policemen and as lecturers in classrooms.

"Administrative" responses have been elaborate, ranging from the Mexican-American Education Commission to the hiring of Mexican-American administrators--most notably two high school principals. Perhaps the most elaborate response has been the set of decisions relating to the decentralization of the Los Angeles school system. This has involved a series of negotiations between school administrators and professional and community groups. One outcome of particular interest was the creation of Advisory Councils in the high schools, many of which include parents who had been active in the EICC and are now active in PICA.

The "professional" responses also have been elaborate. There have been curricular changes and additions; there have been dropout prevention programs and plans for experimentation with new forms of teaching the "hard core" students. There have been plans in Los Angeles area colleges and universities that involve giving prospective teachers more realistic exposure to barrio-level families. Many of these reactions, of course, are only indirectly related to the sequence of events narrated here--but they are related. The continued and accelerated activity on the Mexican-American professional level and the continued pressure, in one form or another, from the community level have both undoubtedly been important, but a full appraisal would take a far more detailed study than is possible here.

Of particular interest has been the response of Anglo teachers working in the area. Unquestionably, for some, there has been the same process of deprofessionalization and search for solutions characteristic of the Chicano teachers. Some have formed relations with community groups which have begun to serve as a new reference group. For others, the polarization went in the direction of rigidly reaffirming "professional" authority. The presence of both types of adaptation in each school, it was suggested in the NYC case, creates a very real tension for community people concerned with constructive change.

Any organization or institution has within itself a response potential which runs a full gamut from coercion to normative socialization. The relative emphasis placed on coercion by an institution of socialization such as the schools, of course, depends on the situation and the environment. This brief sketch of some responses underlines the importance of the fact that the school responses to the Chicano challenge must pay attention not only to the professional problems of the teachers, but also to the organizational level as such.

Concluding Comments

We have traced some of the organized Mexican-American criticism of the schools through a period of approximately seven years. In East Los Angeles, from 1964 to the present, this criticism was first voiced by a subcommittee of an organization of Mexican-American professionals. Second, it was voiced by an organization of Mexican-American teachers. Third, it was carried by a militant mobilization of a very wide range of segments in the community; fourth, by the institutionalization of spokesmen for that mobilization; fifth, by new grass roots parent groups allied with a group of reoriented teachers; and sixth, by youth-serving agencies with a staff of community origin. These phases coincided with phases in the development of the Chicano movement in the city of Los Angeles.

There have been some interesting continuities in this aspect of the movement. Particular individuals, for example, have been involved in almost every aspect of the challenge to the schools from 1968 to the present. But we have concentrated attention on an important discontinuity--that is, the participation of community or barrio people. Their participation was an important element only in three phases: during one period in the EICC, in the recently developed parent organization, and as staff members in youth-serving agencies detailed in one case. In other aspects of the challenge to the schools, the professional or professionals from the barrio predominated.

Critical focus on the professionalism of the teachers has become differentiated. There is yet a problem, however, because the school system awards credibility in different fashion to the various groups involved. It is understandable that it is more comfortable for threatened professionals to give cedibility and respect to a fellow professional, even if he is critical of the system. This is true even if a grass roots group can speak directly and importantly for the problem groups--the rejects of the school system, the dropouts. Spokesmen who are socially mobile are at least one degree or more removed from the daily life of the family on welfare, the young people on drugs, and the families involved with violence and questions of basic survival. These persons have a tendency to slide into a comfortable and self-regarding role of "protector of the poor." These people often romanticize the Mexican-American poor of East Los Angeles almost as much as the Anglo myth-makers, and forget the social and individual high explosive potential in the bitter and perennially frustrated lives of the urban Mexican underclass. In short, they tend to become part of the frustration of that underclass; they tend to become yet another layer to be penetrated in the search for meaningful change. The "Anglo game" of mutual discrediting, of ethnic cannibalism, of competition for the scarce resources offered by the school system, begins again in another form. It provides yet another protection for the teacher, and yet another shield against self-examination by the profession of teaching.

We said at the beginning that claims to professionalism by the teachers are, in fact, claims to power and to immunity from criticism from its clients. We said that such claims with respect to Mexican-American clients are buttressed by self-convincing conferences and by status quo research on the one hand--and by the quiesence of barrio students and parents on the other. But the quietness and the passiveness have probably ended forever.

It yet remains to be seen whether the differentiated critical attack on the teaching professional will become the functional equivalent of the status prerogatives of the upper middle class parent. In our view, there is a very real need to move the research and conference type of support for professionalism away from the dead center of ritualism. Perhaps most important, it is necessary to move university departments of education into a redefinition of professional capacity in teaching. Both the production of useful research and the training of teachers who teach depend upon a changed relationship--both to self and to the deeply concerned and worried people of the Mexican barrios. This is a regionwide problem, as we know. Los Angeles is simply one example of a serious, long-lasting, and resistant structural problem which depends to some degree on the professional props provided by the faculties of universities such as ourselves.

We would further submit that this problem is not confined to the school system, but affects almost all professions dealing collectively with problems of the barrio. Doctors refuse to recognize as "medical" the community's desperate problems of alcoholism and drug addiction. Social workers and planners work out elaborate "delivery systems" which all assume, in their very title, that the barrio people are passive recipients of services defined and provided by "professionals." Researchers define their problems and design their instruments in terms of received doctrine often irrelevant to the situation being studied. These are all professions, whose body of knowledge is far from sacred. Involvement of the clientele in the definition and resolution of problems is now possible even inside the Roman Catholic Church. Let us move involvement into the pragmatic professions.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Robert Dreeben, The Nature of Teaching (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, and Co., 1970) dismisses this issue as a "question /which/ may be of utmost importance to the workers . . . /but which/ has little importance as an analytic question for understanding occupational life," p.15. It is part of the argument of this paper that an important part of the "nature of occupational life" in teaching relates to the "utmost importance" this question has for teachers. This importance goes far beyond status claims, into the question of legitimacy.

[2] Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," cited by Walter L. Slocum in Occupational Careers (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), p. 122.

[3] See Dan Lorie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, ed. by Amitai Etzioni (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[4] As fully documented by Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in Schools (Princeton, New Jersey: The College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), both in discussing conferences as an indicator of concern, and, implicitly, in the numerous dissertations cited in his biliography.

[5] Estimated April 12, 1971, on the basis of school enrollment in grades 2-6, by Michael Roof, Research and Evaluation Division of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Greater Los Angeles, to whom I am indebted. 1970 census figures were not available for Mexican Americans.

[6] In order, they were: Jefferson, with 50.3 per cent; Lincoln, with 44.8 per cent; Garfield, with 42.2 per cent; Belmont, with 40.7 per cent; Franklin, with 38.9 per cent; Roosevelt, with 35.3 per cent; and Wilson, with 27.5 per cent. Los Angeles Unified School District, Auxiliary Services Division, Measurement and Evaluation Section, Report No. 305, Graduation and Attrition Rates in Los Angeles City Senior High Schools: Class of 1969, no date.

[7] Los Angeles Unified School District, Auxiliary Services Division, Measurement and Evaluation Section, Report No. 306, Graduates and Dropouts in Los Angeles City Schools: A Compari-

son, April 1970. The study was based on a random sample of 465 graduates (from among the 32,000 graduates of the winter and summer classes of 1968) and a random sample of 321 dropouts (from among the 12,000 dropouts of the school year 1966-67), p. 2.

[8] In 1960-61, measuring number of dropouts as a per cent of total enrollment, they were, in order: Jefferson, with 29.2 per cent; Roosevelt, with 21.9 per cent; Garfield with 20.1 per cent; Belmont, with 18.1 per cent; Franklin, with 16.9 per cent; Lincoln, with 10.8 per cent; and Wilson, with 4.8 per cent--the only one below the citywide median. Los Angeles City School Districts, Evaluation and Research Section, Research Report No. 246, Transfers, Entrants, and Dropouts in Los Angeles City Secondary Schools, 1960-61, May 1962, pp. 14-15.

In 1965-66, this "annual rate" (computed as in 1960-61) was multiplied by three and multiplied again by a correction factor of .931 to arrive at an "estimated dropout rate, grades 10-12." In order, the schools were: Garfield, with 57.5 per cent; Roosevelt, with 45.0 per cent; Jefferson, with 43.6 per cent (those three were the top three in the city); Lincoln, with 39.7 per cent; Belmont, with 35.2 per cent; Franklin, with 34.6 per cent; and Wilson, with 21.8 per cent. Los Angeles City School Districts, Auxiliary Services Division, Measurement and Evaluation Section, Report No. 282, Transiency and Dropout Rates in Los Angeles City Schools, 1965-66, August, 1967, pp. 45, 48.

[9] Only a quarter of Mexican-American parents with 0-4 years of education reported having visited the schools, compared with 40-50 per cent of those with more education. Forty-four per cent of respondents at this educational level had never heard of the PTA--notably lower than Mexican-American parents with higher grade level attainments. Three-quarters of the respondents at this level spoke only or mostly Spanish with their children. Most significantly, the lower the grade level attainment of the parent, when asked the question, "What are the main things that children need to be taught in the schools today?" the more likely he was to respond with "discipline. self-control, respect, obedience, good manners," indicating a strong sense of respect for the schools. Forty-four per cent respondents with 0-4 years of education, compared with 21

per cent of those with some college, made this kind of response. Data was drawn from a probability sample of Mexican-American households in Los Angeles county, described in Leo Grebler, et al., The Mexican American People (New York: The Free Press, 1970). Special tabulations were made of this data (by educational level) by Joe Tapia of Operation SER, Santa Monica, to whom we are indebted.

[10] There are some data that suggests that teachers in East Los Angeles are somewhat more sensitive to community needs than others in the city. The schools conducted a survey of their staff in 1970, with a 30 per cent response rate. The East L.A. staff tended to give somewhat more weight than others in the city to parents and community in decisions regarding assignments of teachers and principals to schools, and also to feel more than others that it is important to decentralize the development of instructional materials and the selection of textbooks and films. They also give more weight than others in the city to "community identity" in assigning new boundaries for administrative areas under the decentralization plan. Ad Hoc Decentralization Task Force, Los Angeles Unified School District, Educational Renewal: A Proposed Decentralization Plan for the Los Angeles Unified School District, Vol. II, Appendix V, pp. 16, 19, 32, 38.

RESEARCH FOR CHANGE--FOR A CHANGE

by

Henry M. Ramírez*

The Mexican-American Education Study was conceived and designed with an explicit two-fold purpose: to compile extensive new empirical data defining the status of Mexican-American education in the Southwest and to utilize the data as a solid factual foundation to stimulate swift constructive changes in education at the Federal level, through the States, and down to districts and individual schools.

These two goals are mutually dependent, for a concise evaluation of the status quo with regard to Mexican-American education is the most essential prerequisite for implementing effective change in our school system in the near future. An increasing number of Mexican Americans, particularly in the Southwest, are dissatisfied with the quality of education afforded them and are seeking changes in educational institutions which will insure them increased opportunities for an equal education. Unfortunately, hard factual data with regard to Mexican Americans has been virtually nonexistent.

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Recent years have seen a greatly increased awareness among educators of the shortcomings of our educational system as it relates to Black students; yet until now, most information concerning Chicano education has existed only in the form of allegations and accusations. With this in mind, the Mexican-American Education Study has sought to fill the information vacuum by thoroughly defining and evaluating (criticizing wherever necessary) the status quo, thereby providing vitally needed ammunition for viable change.

The single element that makes the Mexican-American Education Study such a uniquely effective tool for stimulating educational change is that it is not a study of students, but of schools. Educators have traditionally accepted the low achievement, low attainment, and alienation of the Chicano student as the "natural order of things," and have sought the origins of the problem by studying the social, economic, and familial characteristics of the child. A cursory review of the research literature on the educational problems of Chicano students uncovers copious masters' and doctoral dissertations on the child; his socioeconomic status, his motivation, his "language handicap," his parental influence, ad infinitum. This tendency to look at the child, his home, and his parents too frequently has led educators to place culpability at the door of the agents least capable of intervening in behalf of their own self-determination and amelioration.

Rarely, however, does one find educators turning their glances inward and assessing the effects their own educational conditions. practices, and policies are having on the child. It is the firm conviction of the United States Commission on Civil Rights that the roots of the alienation, hostility, and low academic achievement manifested so frequently among Mexican-American students will be more fully understood when educators stop disecting students and start taking a closer look at the schools as they respond, or fail to respond, to minority groups. The research literature emphasizes the process of assimilation of the Mexican-American child, as if the end justified the means, regardless of the damages caused. Who has researched the effect of a child's self-image and esteem when a first grade teacher "baptizes" a Spanish-speaking child into the Anglo world by changing Juan to John, Esperanza to Hope, and Casimiro Palomares to I Almost See Doves? Or who has investigated the short and long range effects of prohibiting Spanish in school, and even punishing those Chicanos who use it. There is significance in the dearth of data in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research on the consequences of systematic and institutionalized exclusion of the Indo-Hispanic culture on a Chicano child's self-image and sense of worth.

Thus, in a very real sense, the Mexican-American Education Study was not designed to be "just another study" of Mexican Americans, but an examination of the effectiveness of our present school system providing an equal education for students of individual ethnic groups. To accomplish this goal, the research was designed to answer these three fundamental questions:

1. What current practices in Southwestern schools appear to significantly impinge on educational opportunities for Mexican Americans?

2. What current conditions in these schools appear to affect educational opportunities?

3. What are the significant relationships between these practices and conditions which affect educational outcomes for Spanish-speaking students?

Placed in the right hands, the Mexican-American Education Study can be an effective tool for implementing swift changes in education at all levels. Beginning at the Federal level, it should first be noted that this new information is essential in order to make recommendations to Congress and to the

President for legislation relative to Mexican-American education. The history of the Commission has been such that most recommendations resulting from the various studies have resulted in Congressional action.

A prime example is the Voting Rights Act which was amended in several areas as a result of Commission recommendations. In addition, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Title VIII--Fair Housing Section entitled "Discrimination in the Sale or Rental of Housing" resulted from a 1967 Commission Report on Housing. A very recent example of Federal action is the compliance of multiple departments and agencies to recommendations in the Commission's "Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort" report.

Still another dimension of the Federal level is the multitude of minions in the Federal bureaucracy who control funds, establish guidelines, and evaluate and broker proposals. These are the individuals who develop community, regional, and national goals and priorities. The Mexican-American Education Study's reports will provide a primary resource for the development of awareness and sensitivity to Chicano education among these Federal policymakers. Thus, it is anticipated that the recommendations arising from the final report will lay the foundation for effecting educational change not only for

Mexican-American students in the Southwest, but also for Spanish-speaking students nationwide.

Even with the preliminary data which has been released so far in the first report, striking changes have already taken place at the Federal level. For example, the Mexican-American Education Study played a role in stimulating the Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights to formulate its May 5th memorandum which clarified HEW's policy concerning the responsibility of school districts to provide equal opportunity to national origin minority group children who have difficulty in English language skills. This memorandum states, in part, that compliance reviews of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act conducted by the Office of Civil Rights in school districts with large Spanish-surnamed populations have revealed a number of common practices which "have the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils." In addition, the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity received intensive information on the descriptive findings of the Study. This data helped the U.S. Senate in the formulation of components of the $1.5 billion desegregation bill in order to make it applicable to the Spanish speaking.

The Study's survey data can also provide the statistical foundation for a reassessment of many Federal programs. To use just one example, it is known that the Federal government spends millions of Federal dollars annually on bilingual programs, but there was no statistical data on the number of students actually participating in these programs in the Southwest. Commission data has indicated that out of well over a million Mexican Americans in districts with 10 per cent or more Mexican-American enrollment, only 29,000 Mexican-American pupils were enrolled in bilingual education when its survey was taken. While 6.5 per cent of the schools in the survey area have bilingual programs, these are reaching only 2.7 per cent of the Mexican-American student population--only one student out of nearly forty. In the same vein, the study has provided much needed information on the number, location, and in-service training of bilingual teachers. These statistics play a valuable role in the reassessment of Federal programs to make them more responsive to Chicanos.

At the State level, the Mexican-American Education Study has also helped generate activity toward improvement of present educational conditions. The Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund incorporated Commission information in the preparation of a brief which has been submitted to the

California Supreme Court seeking changes in school financing. It is hoped that this action will result in more equitable distribution of funds for public education. In addition, the Texas State Commissioner of Education sent his Director of Research to Washington to familiarize himself with the methodology introduced in the Study in order to implement those aspects applicable to Texas.

The Mexican-American Education Study's potential to effect meaningful change will be highly visible at the district level. Almost all superintendents and principals who participated in the cooperative survey expressed a strong desire for scientific data. The response rate of 98 per cent attests to their sincerity; now it remains to be seen whether they will, in fact, change their policies and practices when factual data are presented before them in black and white.

The development of measures for self-assessment and self-examination by school districts is basic to the purpose of the Mexican-American Education Study. Most school systems affirm belief in the concept of equal educational opportunities in accordance with the constitutional guarantees of the 14th amendment. Yet few school districts have established mechanisms to determine to what extent, if any, minority students are in fact receiving opportunities equitably. The study has found that very few schools systems have developed accounting procedures which reveal the outcomes of their students on the basis of ethnicity in order to measure the effectiveness of their school programs. In this respect, the Mexican-American Education Study takes on added significance, because this survey produced an assessment of 80 per cent of all Chicano students in the Southwest and 80 per cent of the total Southwest enrollment by ethnic and racial background. Just a few of the vital areas measured in the study are reading achievement by grades four, eight, and twelve, high school graduates, participation in extracurricular activities, grade repetitions, overageness, dropouts, placement in low versus high tracks.

This research methodology can produce a basis for change if schools can be motivated to undertake a self-assessment modeled after the study questionnaires, and to record significant data on the basis of the ethnicity of students. Meaningful change can soon be realized when educators make a public accounting of the progress of all students to their clients, parents, and taxpayers. As it is now, principals stand up once a year, graduation day, and proudly announce to the community that X per cent of their students will go on to college, and that X per cent have received scholarships. When all principals are required to give a periodical and public accounting of the achievement of all students, and not merely those successful ones, the community will see an objective measurement of educational opportunities for the first time. When principals reveal the percentage of Chicano students who are reading three years or more below grade level, who are overaged for their grade assignments, who have repeated grades, and who are dropping out of school, change will come. Information is power, and an informed and enraged citizenry acts for change. This, then, is an important underlined, long-range objective of the Study. When State legislators, college and district educators, parents, and the community at large have the embarrassing facts before them, change will become imperative. It is in this way that the Mexican-American Education Study will become an agent for change, and will become research for change.

At the school level, the Mexican-American Education Study will provide the basis for change in several very critical areas--the classroom, the counselor's office, and the principal's office. For the first time in any kind of research, methodology was developed to answer the basic question, "Do Mexican-American youngsters in the Southwest encounter different educational environment than their Anglo peers?" In this case, the phrase "environment" refers to physical, emotional, social, instructional, and administrative aspects of the school. The basic question can be broken down as follows:

1. Are there different emotional climates in high Chicano-density schools and high Anglo-density schools?

2. Are there different emotional climates within the same classroom for Chicano and Anglo students?

3. Are there different systems of social organization in high Chicano-density schools and in high Anglo-density schools?

4. Are there different systems of social organization within the same classroom for Chicano and Anglo students?

5. Is there a different instructional emphasis in high Chicano-density schools and high Anglo-density schools?

6. Is there different administrative handling of students in high Chicano-density schools and high Anglo-density schools?

7. Is there different administrative handling of Chicano and Anglo students within the same school?

The information collected through this methodology will demonstrate whether teacher interaction with Chicano students in the classroom is quantifiably and qualifiably different from interaction with Anglo students. The Flanders verbal interaction analysis was used for this purpose and, in order to measure quantitative and qualitative differences, the Flanders scale was modified to reflect teacher-student interaction by teacher ethnicity and, more important, by the ethnicity of the student. This scale was applied to almost 600 classrooms in the Southwest. It is hypothesized that the interaction analysis will reveal that Chicano children perceive a different emotional environment in the classroom than their Anglo peers. Here again, the Mexican-American Education Study will provide recommendations to change education affecting Chicanos. Through varied approaches, the study also sought to measure differential treatment of Chicano children as compared with Anglo classmates in the counselor's office as well as the principal's office. The information will challenge the often stated rationalization that educators treat all children alike.

The statistical data derived from both the mail survey and the field study has now been tabulated, and is in a form which permits the Commission staff to write a series of seven reports so that this vital information can reach the President, Congress, and the American public. The first report, "Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in the Public Schools of the Southwest," lays the preliminary demographic groundwork for the entire Study. The data revealed in this report documents conclusively, for the first time, that Mexican-American students, teachers, and administrators in the Southwest are severely segregated by school districts and by schools within individual districts. One-fifth of all Mexican-American students in the Southwest are located in schools with enrollments from 80-100 per cent Mexican American.

The second report, "The Forgotten Student," evaluates school achievement by reference to five standard measures: reading achievement, grade repetitions, "overageness," participation in extracurricular activities, and the ability of the schools to hold students until graduation. The report documents the fact that minority students in the Southwest--Mexican Americans, Blacks, American Indians--do not obtain the same benefits of public education as their Anglo classmates. Without exception, minority students achieve at a lower rate than Anglos: the school holds them for a shorter period of time; their reading achievement is poorer; they repeat grades more frequently; overageness for grade assignment is more prevalent; and they participate in extracurricular activities less than their Anglo counterparts.

Our third report, "The Excluded Student," evaluates the schools' provisions for the unique cultural and linguistic characteristics of Mexican Americans, and will be released simultaneously in the fall with the second report. This publication reveals that school systems in the Southwest have not recognized the rich culture and tradition of their Mexican-American students, and have not adopted policies and practices which would enable minority students to participate freely in the benefits of the educational process. Instead, schools employ a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community.

Fourth in the series of reports is one which uncovers disparities in school finances and the facilities provided Mexican-American students. The report looks into various aspects of district level financing such as disparities in per-pupil expenditures by district size and ethnic composition of district and the nature and extent of State and Federal aid to these districts. At the school level, the report examines disparities in teacher salaries, and experience and education of teachers and principals throughout the Southwest. This report is expected to be released in the fall of 1971.

The information acquired from the field study will be discussed in an independent report examining the existence and implications of differential treatment of Mexican-American students in the classroom and in counselor's and principal's offices. Such factors as verbal and nonverbal interaction between the teacher and students, teacher perceptions of students, and seating patterns are examined.

When all data is evaluated and correlated, an overall comprehensive report will be released examining the effect of the following vital factors on the performance of Mexican-American students:

1. ethnic isolation
2. cultural exclusion
3. staffing patterns
4. tracking
5. finances
6. Title I funds
7. S.E.S. of the student by the density of school

Finally, a separate description of the methodology of the study has been prepared for the scholars who are concerned not just with what the statistics are, but with how the data was gathered and analysed. It is not surprising that 200 requests for the methodology have already been received, for in many ways it contains the key to the success of the study and to its usefulness as an instrument for change. I would like to emphasize that methodology of this study is significant because of the constant emphasis on schools rather than on students. The unique focus has resulted in an accurate and objective measurement of the denial of equal educational opportunities to Chicano children in nearly every area of school activity. After the Mexican-American Education Study, the burden of proof, with regard to the myth of equal educational opportunities, will be shifted away from the child and his parents to where it rightfully belongs--the professional educator.

BICULTURALISM AND THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS
THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL CHANGE

by

Robert A. Reveles*

Dateline, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 29, 1966: "EEOC Delegates Quit Conference in Protest."

Dateline, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1966: "Mr. President, have you heard anything to the effect that Mexican Americans feel they should have more attention?"

"Yes, I have heard that all my life. And I agree with them. I think they should have more attention. I am going to give them more. I think that they are entitled to more consideration in Government employment than they have received. I think they have been discriminated against in housing, in education, in jobs. I don't think we can be very proud of our record in that field . . . "

So began one of the most feverish and productive periods of political change in the lives of a subnation of over nine million who had defiantly proclaimed they were no longer to be America's largest invisible minority.[1]

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That Albuquerque Conference protest and the cohesive coalition of disparate Mexican-American organizations, factions, and personalities it drew together have to date not been treated to the political scientists' dissection; but, even more sadly, the success of Albuquerque has not been adequately told to La Raza. The ingredients of the Ad Hoc Coalition which was forged at Albuquerque are the dynamics of political change which succeed in the Anglo world surrounding the Mexican American. If La Raza is to continue its promising desarrollo and its development, political scientists, and indeed all of us, must make those ingredients available to the barrio exponent for change.

It is appropriate that this symposium has chosen to examine the "Politics of Educational Change." In such examination, one must obviously look at the Bilingual Education Act.[2] This act, which constitutes an historic breakthrough in the nation's public education policy, is significant not only because of the new resources it would bring to the education of heretofore neglected millions; more importantly, the act affirmed the fact that Congress can respond to the unique needs of an admittedly small segment of the nation's population.

In a nation of over 200 million, we must candidly assess the political potential and political reality of a segment of that body politic which, at best, is recognized as constituting 5 per cent of the national population. The latest authoritative figures of the 1970 Census reveal 9.2 million persons of Spanish origin. Of these, 5.1 million specify Mexican origin.[3] The successful fight for achieving the Bilingual Education Act, therefore, can serve us well as we examine the "Politics of Educational Change."

We are all too familiar with the background of an education policy that demanded seven-year-olds to begin acquiring their life-time learning patterns and to do so in a language foreign to the student's home. The resultant misery, la pobreza, and a community of determined people who cut across sectional and professional interests, were the stuff which fueled the Albuquerque protest and set in motion a period of frantic political response.

Let us look at that coalition briefly and examine its actions. The coalition arose at the fated conference which was called by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC); some fifty Mexican-American community personalities were invited from throughout the five Southwestern states. Upon arrival at the University of New Mexico campus (site of the conference), it became evident to the participants that this was to be one more "conference," one more placebo administered to a docile member of the sick American family. After some initial discussions, the conferees decided _que ya basta_--that they had had enough of these "conferences." And, as if to indicate the degree of importance attached to the conference, only one of the five EEOC Commissioners had been dispatched from Washington.

At the opening of the conference, insurgent speakers representing the four largest Mexican-American organizations outlined a litany of grievances and gave voice to the frustrated belief that the Government had thus far not responded and could not now be expected to respond to the needs of an often-too-meek people. The entire body of Chicano conferees then walked out and reconvened in an adjoining classroom. (This was later to be characterized as one of the first "militant" acts by a broadly representative and cohesive group of Chicanos.) An Ad Hoc Coalition was promptly formed with the express purpose of presenting a petition of demands to no one less than the President himself.

The coalition included the heads of every significant Chicano organization at that time: The American G.I. Forum, the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, the Latin American Civic Association, and the League of United Latin American Citizens. Its political spectrum ranged from moderate businessman, Augustin Flores, to crusader for justice, Corky Gonzales.

The coalition presented to the President a list of demands, chief of which were:

1. Appointment of a Mexican American as Commissioner in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). There was no Chicano Commissioner at that time.

2. That staff hiring practices of the EEOC be changed to eliminate ethnic imbalance against the Mexican American. At the time, there were 126 staff members in the Washington office; two were Chicanos.

3. Inclusion of the Mexican American's problems in the White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for later that year. Thus far, they had not been included. And subsequently, the coalition added a major request for a meeting with the President.

The Coalition's demands were submitted to the President. This was followed by other Coalition meetings in Los Angeles from which public expressions of support were conveyed to the President by a single telegram signed by some 300 persons. Similar public manifestations of support also took place in Phoenix, Arizona, and other communities in the Southwest.

After several months of public demonstrations and private sessions with White House assistants, punctuated by increasing mass media awareness--evidenced by disturbing questions posed to the President at press conferences--it became evident the tactic of coalition and persuasive advocacy of La Causa was succeeding.

In May 1966, the President announced that he would meet with a group of Mexican-American community leaders. The meeting took place; the President agreed to convene a White House Conference on Mexican-American Problems.

Within months, the President also appointed the first Mexican American to the EEOC--Vicente Ximenes. He created the first Federal Government agency designed specifically to work on problems of the Mexican American--the Inter-Agency Committee for Mexican-American Affairs--and set in motion a Civil Service recruitment drive to enlist Mexican Americans for service throughout the Federal establishment.

None of the above Presidential moves are cited as having been the answer to La Raza's problems, but rather to illustrate --if we are to learn the dynamics of political change--that change is possible and how it's possible. Keep in mind that before March 1966, there was no national awareness of the Mexican-American community. That was the year a lonely man began receiving public awareness of his labor of love for the grape farmworkers. The nation had not yet heard of César Chavez.

Today, César Chavez is universally known.

Today, La Raza and La Causa are evident throughout the entire nation.

Today, educators and politicians of both major parties embrace Bilingual Education.

But it was not always that way. And the change did not suddenly emerge in a vacuum. Educators, in particular, are charged with searching out the truth. We are seeking to learn better the politics of educational change. To do so, we need to look no further than the legislative history of the Bilingual Education Act.

We will discover in this mental tour of our Nation's Capitol, that bilingual education was the subject of lukewarm and halting support of a Democratic Administration. It was the recipient of a broad geographical spectrum of congressional support, which shattered the parochial character previously ascribed to bilingualism. It was born of partisan Democratic supporters and quickly adopted by Republicans converted by undeniable merits of a bilingual education program calculated to lead people out of the misery of neglect. But even more importantly, the climate of political acceptability had dawned on a political body that could no longer ignore the grinding poverty of nuestros ancianos, nuestros padres, and our own contemporaries pushed out of forbidding school systems at an alarmingly high dropout rate.

We well know the invaluable help given for the enactment of Bilingual Education by the National Education Association through its "Tucson Report."[4] This report, The Invisible Minority, resulted from a year-long survey conducted in 1965 by a group of Tucson, Arizona, teachers. They were enlisted by NEA to bring together information on all the promising and innovative programs being conducted in various schools throughout the Southwest.

After publishing the report, the NEA accepted the challenge for action called for by the report. This led to the convening of the NEA symposium on "The Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest," held in Tucson, Arizona, October 30-31, 1966.

The authors of the report expressed the hope that their disclosure of shocking educational failures and promising new programs "might stimulate action in the form of programs developed to more appropriately serve Mexican-American children . . ." They called for "further legislation and substantially increased appropriations . . . "

What is not so well known is, again, the dynamics and the interaction of political change that accompanied bilingualism in the halls of Congress.

Immediately upon the convening of Congress in January, Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced the first bilingual education bill ever considered by the Congress. He was joined in cosponsorship by both New York Senators, Jacob Javits and Robert F. Kennedy; by Massachusetts Senator Edward M. Kennedy; by both California Senators, Thomas Kuchel and George Murphy (at a later date); by New Mexico Senator Joseph Montoya; by Oregon Senator Wayne Morse; by West Virginia Senator Jennings Randolph; by Texas Senator John Tower; and New Jersey Senator Harrison Williams.

The following month, the first bilingual education bill was introduced in the House of Representatives. Energetic sponsors from Mexican-American strongholds, like Representative Edward Roybal and Representative Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, broadened the base of support. Adding to the core of Southwestern sponsors, they gained the help of other regions and secured bipartisan sponsorship.

A total of thirty-seven bilingual education bills were introduced in the House of Representatives. There were forty-nine cosponsoring Congressmen and supporters, representing such non-Southwestern states as Washington, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Maine.

There were unexpected converts and there were surprising critics. Who would have expected the actual overnight announcement of not only support, but cosponsorship by Senator George Murphy? Who would have expected the apparent reluctance of Texas Democrat Representative Henry B. Gonzalez? But behind these two particular personalities lay some of the hard facts of political change.

Senator Murphy's conversion can only be explained as a response to the impressive community of interest displayed by California's educators and California's Mexican-American organizations. Who could not have been moved ever so slightly that second day of hearings in the Senate when Senator Murphy entered the hearing room and announced that he no longer had any question of the need for bilingual education and committed himself to cosponsorship?

On the other side of the Capitol building, however, Democratic Congressman Gonzalez was explaining his lack of enthusiasm as follows:

> . . . I will not endorse any particular bill, although I will say that H.R. 8000 and others closely similar to it, appear to be better in many respects than others . . .

Noting how he thought a bilingual program should be set up, Representative Gonzalez also remarked that "some bills notably in the other body, have been written to exclude all but a given ethnic group, say the Spanish surnamed, and limits assistance even then to immigrant children or children of immigrants from certain countries." He argued that "such an approach is far too exclusive to achieve what needs to be done. After all, there are people throughout the United States who have a language problem."[5]

It is difficult to explain the many factors which may have led Representative Gonzalez to this position. However, one of the elements that must be considered is the long-standing political feud between Senator Yarborough and President Johnson. As a close confidant of President Johnson, Representative Gonzalez undoubtedly had mixed feelings about aligning himself in cosponsorship of legislation being spearheaded, as it was, by Senator Yarborough.

In the meantime, local community support continued to build up, and additional public awareness was generated by such organized regional activities as the Texas Conference for Educational Opportunities for Mexican Americans held at San Antonio, Texas, and numerous other education and Chicano meetings throughout the Southwest.

Prior to final congressional action, it became apparent that the politicians were being pressured to challenge the "radicalism" posed by a Bilingual Education Act which would tamper with the long-standing homily that "we are all Americans, speak American." Sponsors of the legislation were subjected to editorials excoriating their role. One newspaper publisher characterized their sponsorship as "a startling picture of how representatives in Congress will bow to the demands of an articulate and militant minority," and proclaimed that "there should be no place and no spending of public funds to create hyphenated Americans on a grand scale which will be the outgrowth of this initial foot-in-the-door bill."[6]

Moreover, a Texan sitting as President was already reassessing his earlier press conference statement that Mexican Americans were entitled to more attention from their government. His Administration's chief education spokesman reflected the President's wavering commitment, as Education Commissioner Harold Howe testified:

> There are a number of programs administered by the Office of Education under which assistance is available for special programs in the area of bilingual education . . . Since our present legislation provides authority for supporting bilingual programs, the need for additional legislation should be given careful scrutiny. A major question is whether it is desirable to have special legislation and special programs each time we want to meet a problem in

> education--especially where present law authorizes assistance in meeting that very problem. However, specialized legislation could be considered a temporary expedient to highlight problems previously given inadequate attention by the education Community. Then, after attention has been drawn to the problem and measures have been taken to solve it, the specialized program may be consolidated with other legislation to form a comprehensive program. 7

How does all this fit into the politics of educational change, one might ask. And yet, if we don't probe into the human political drama that accompanied this historic legislation, we will be the poorer in "historia" and even more lamentably poorer in failing to grasp the guts of the politics of educational change.

One aspect of the Bilingual Education legislation we must keep in mind is that the Congress never took a vote on bilingual education alone. And it was Senator Yarborough's strategy of including it as part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act amendments which is credited as ensuring its successful enactment within the same year in which it was originally proposed. Thus, its final adoption was ensured when the House adopted the ESEA Amendments of 1967 by a vote of 286-73 and the Senate acted on a 63-3 vote. No Senator from the Southwest voted against passage.

Among the Southwestern Representatives, 32 Democrats and 10 Republicans voted yea, while 7 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted nay. While not actually voting, 7 Democrats and 3 Republicans announced they would have voted yea had they been present. (See Appendix A.)

Now, in Washington it isn't enough that a new act be placed on the law books. It must also have money. Thus, there are two phases to any new program, the authorization and. secondly, the appropriation. To date, Congress has authorized the expenditure of $265 million, but has actually appropriated only $80,750,000--less than a third of the funds authorized. (See Appendix B.) Thus, even after its birth, the infant legislation was placed on a starvation diet. Again, the proponents for real change have doggedly, but unsuccessfully, pursued a greater appropriation of funds to at least the level authorized by Congress.

Today, there are new challenges facing the education community of the Chicanos. New questions are posed by revenue sharing. New Federal guidelines and lack of adequate funding suggest the need for greater pressure on local and state governments for funding of bilingual education programs.

To cope with these challenges, the Mexican-American community and the education community again must forge the successful alliance that worked for Federal adoption of bilingual education. We must again exercise those dynamics of persuasion for effective political change. Activism must become a pattern of life within those local institutions which surround us--the PTAs, the labor groups, the business and professional associations, and the local and state governments.

We have learned that the cast of characters must be enlarged. We must enlist the help not only of educators who happen to be Chicanos, but we must ally ourselves with groups such as the Emergency Committee for Full Funding. This Committee amply demonstrated its political muscle when it successfully lobbied the Congress and increased education appropriations in the last two years, while falling short of its goal this year.

We know that Congress caws response when the facts are brought before it. It may not respond immediately nor adequately, but if we are to engage in the full life of our nation, we must try to build on the new awareness that a Chicano community exists. The fruits of Mexican-American activism from the last five years is now coming to maturity. We see it in the changing character of those early successes. Some of the change is hopeful, some of it dubious.

The Inter-Agency Committee for Mexican-American Affairs, set up on a tenuous basis by Executive Order in 1967, became a permanent statutory agency by congressional legislation in

1969 and broadened its constituency as its name implies--The Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People.

The term of office for the first Mexican-American Commissioner on the EEOC ended on July 1, 1971. And even more crucial, new guidelines from the Federal Government seek withdrawal of Federal funding from expansion of bilingual education programs to additional grade levels.

Today, while there is a spirit of national Raza coalition, there is no central advocate from the Chicano community at the congressional scene. There is no Brown Caucus. Perhaps there should be none. Nonetheless, we do have, as a result of gatherings such as this symposium, a sharpened awareness by Mexican Americans and by educators. The task we have to face is that without concerted political efforts aimed at both major political parties and at all political jurisdictions, we cannot expect to attain educational or any other significant change.

This commonality of interest between Mexican Americans and educators proved its effectiveness during the fight for bilingual education. We must revive and expand on that commonality of interest. At the same time, we must recognize that those divisions which often confront Chicanos on the local scene are likewise reflected among the Mexican-American congressmen and others working at the national level. Chicano congressmen alone cannot do the job. Southwestern congressmen alone can't either.

To overcome this weakening division, we must look to a wider base of national support. After all, while there are five and one-half million Hispanos in the Southwestern states, there are almost four million Hispanos in other regions of the country. We must come to grips with that Chicano perspective of old that saw things in a regional sense, that depended too much on _personalismo_ of political brokers, and that often, with good reason, viewed politics as something outside their lives.

We must recognize that the system can and will respond to the needs of our community. The Albuquerque Coalition, although short-lived, demonstrated that we can act decisively. The Mexican-American and educator communities, together, demonstrated in bringing about the Bilingual Education Act that we can act effectively.

Having thus demonstrated our capacity to affect change, we no longer can easily blame others for the lack of change. The dynamics of change epitomized by the brief history of the last five years are, after all, but part of the answer to the question posed by Octavio Paz: "Como crear una sociedad, una cultura, que no niegue nuestra humanidad pero tampoco la covierta en una vana abstraccion?"[8] ("How can we create a society, a culture, that will not deny our humanity but will also not change it into an empty abstraction?")

Those of us engaged in the "Politics of Educational Change" must ensure that the change is for the Chicano and not "una vana abstraccion."

APPENDIX A

House of Representatives Vote on Adoption of Conference Report of Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments Act of 1967 on December 15, 1967.

	Democrats	Republicans
ARIZONA	1 - YEA	2 - NAY
CALIFORNIA	15 - YEA	7 - YEA
		4 - NAY
	5 - Announced YEA	3 - Announced YEA
COLORADO	2 - YEA	1 - YEA
	1 - Announced YEA	
NEW MEXICO	2 - YEA	
TEXAS	12 - YEA	2 - YEA
	7 - NAY	
	10 - Announced YEA	
TOTALS:	32 - YEA	10 - YEA
	7 - NAY	6 - NAY
	7 - Announced YEA	3 - Announced YEA

APPENDIX B

History of Authorizations and Appropriations

TITLE VII	AUTHORIZATION	APPROPRIATION
1968	$15,000,000	-0-
1969	$30,000,000	$7,500,000
1970	$40,000,000	$21,250,000*
1971	$80,000,000	$25,000,000 ($1 million reserved for schools on Indian reservations)
1972	$100,000,000	$27,000,000**
TOTALS:	$265,000,000	$80,750,000

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*After two per cent reduction

**Passed by House

FOOTNOTES

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 213, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: November 1969," (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

[2] Bilingual Education Act, Public Law 90-247; 20 U.S.C. 880b.

[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports, "Spanish Origin," p. 1.

[4] The National Education Association, Department of Rural Education, The Invisible Minority (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1966), out of print.

[5] Bilingual Education Programs, Hearings before the General Subcommittee on Education, 90th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Congress, 1967, p. 217.

[6] "Why Increase Hyphenated Americans?", The Arizona Daily Star, November 19, 1967 (Tucson, Arizona).

[7] Bilingual Education Programs, p. 48.

[8] El Laberinto de la Soledad (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1959).

CULTURAL FREEDOM IN THE SCHOOLS: THE RIGHT OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN TO SUCCEED

by

Martin H. Gerry*

There are two major legal channels through which the Federal Government seeks to protect the right of all children to an education free from discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin: the administrative enforcement mechanism of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the equity powers of the Federal courts.

The Courts

The Courts of the United States are empowered to protect the rights of minority children pursuant to Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution which provides that "No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." For over eighty years the Federal courts wrestled with the problem of whether state imposed segregation of blacks and whites violated the equal protection command. In Plessy vs. Ferguson[1] (a case involving public transportation), the Supreme Court in 1896 announced a "separate but equal" doctrine prefaced on an assertion that equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities.

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Having carefully reserved judgment in Sweatt vs. Painter[2] on the applicability of the Plessy doctrine to public education, the Supreme Court in Brown vs. Board of Education[3] (1954) declared that the segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprives minority group children of the equal protection of the laws. The court buttressed its declaration with an educationally compelling analysis:

> To separate them /black children/ from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.[4]

The next sixteen years of the Supreme Court's activity (most recently evidenced by Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg[5] and its companion cases) in the school desegregation-discrimination area has been exclusively devoted to the elimination of the dual-school system utilized by school districts in seventeen Southern and border states[6] to accomplish the segregation of black and white students into separate schools.

While the Supreme Court has never directly addressed the question of discrimination in public education against Mexican-

American, Puerto Rican, Native American , or other minority group children, it is implicit in the equal protection guarantee that the same principles enumerated in the Brown decision extend to all minority children. Court ordered desegregation plans in Texas from 1954 to 1970 usually treated Mexican-American children as "white" for purposes of student assignment.[7]

Issues related to the treatment of children within desegregated schools, including those related to in-school segregation and equal access to the full benefits of public education, have not been considered by the Court.

The Executive Branch

Pursuant to paragraph five of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which provides in Title VI that the Executive Branch establish an enforcement mechanism so as to ensure that

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.[8]

The ultimate sanction available under the enforcement mechanism is the termination of the eligibility of a school district to receive Federal financial assistance.[9]

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has delegated enforcement responsibilities of the Department (related to recipients of Federal health, education, and welfare assistance) to the Office for Civil Rights.

From 1965 to early 1969 the Office for Civil Rights, Education Branch,was primarily pursuing the elimination of the Southern dual (black-white) school systems. To this end, the Department negotiated over 800 voluntary desegregation plans, employing the termination procedure (a last resort) in over 100 school districts. The primary focus of this effort to eliminate discrimination was on the assignment of students and teachers to the schools of a district. Little attention was paid to the vital issue of educational rights and opportunities within the desegregated schools which resulted.

Desegregation plans accepted from Texas school districts in most cases failed to significantly effect the discriminatory treatment of Mexican-American students. "Desegregation" of Blacks and Mexican Americans (rather than desegregation among Blacks, Anglos, and Mexican Americans) often resulted.

To summarize, between 1954-1970 neither the courts nor the Executive Branch seriously attacked either the segregation of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Native American children or the invidious discriminatory practices utilized by school districts in the operation of educational programs within schools.

The Development of the May 25 Memorandum

In September of 1969, the Office for Civil Rights began a review of civil rights and educational literature addressed to the question of discrimination against national origin minority group children. As of the fall of 1968, according to the Elementary and Secondary School survey conducted by the Office for Civil Rights, 2,541,573 Mexican-American; 719,730 Puerto Rican; 240,700 American Indian and 194,022 Oriental children were enrolled in the public schools. The review was in part prompted by complaints from the community that the Office had failed to investigate and identify invidious discriminatory aspects of school district operations which used the cultural and linguistic differences of Mexican-American children both to segregate such children within schools and to categorically deny them equal educational opportunity. Massive evidence of the systematic lower achievement of minority group children and the existence of large numbers of segregated homogenous ability grouping and special education classes was accumulated.[10]

This review together with discussions with the Commissioner of Education and members of his staff led to the conclusion that Mexican-American children, as a group, were being excluded in many school districts from full and effective participation in, and the full benefits offered by, the educational programs operated by such districts. At approximately the same time, a Report by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was being finalized. The Report summarized:

> In the field of education the Texas State Advisory Committee has found that the meaning of "equal educational opportunity" has not been fully understood by those people in a position to bring about truly equal educational opportunity. For such opportunity encompasses more than the mere elimination of tangible differences--differences in buildings, books, and teachers. It is the feeling of this Committee that the basic premise of our system of free public education rests on each man's right to an education which will allow him to develop his capabilities to his full potential. If an educational system is so designed that, in general, only white Anglo middle class students can achieve their maximum potential, such a system violates the Constitution of the United States.
>
> We can no longer remain under the illusion that a system designed to teach a young Anglo student from Boston or Dallas will work equally well for a Puerto Rican youth in East Harlem, a Mexican-American in San Antonio, or a black student in Houston. The school systems must begin to take into account that background and the special needs of their students and alter teaching methods and educational concepts accordingly. In fact, our schools should take advantage of the prevailing differences in culture and language to enrich their intellectual content. In a world as small as ours it makes no sense to teach thousands of students only in English. It is wrong and shortsighted to teach American and Texas history without the inclusion of contributions made by blacks and Mexican-Americans.[11]

The Office for Civil Rights moved to prepare a departmental policy statement in order to create a set of operating principles which would adequately protect the rights of national origin-minority group children to a truly equal educational opportunity. The drafting of the policy statement (Memorandum to School Districts) reflected the operational philosophy that school districts should create a culturally relevant educational program incorporating a sufficiently flexible educational approach to assure equal access of all children to its full benefits. The burden, according to this philosophy, should be on the school to adapt its educational approach so that the culture, language, and learning style of all children in the school (not just those of Anglo middle class background) are accepted and valued. Children should not be penalized for cultural and linguistic differences nor should they bear a burden to conform to a school sanctioned culture by abandoning their own.

While the Memorandum was in the drafting stage, the President set forth in his Education Reform Message of March 9, 1970, some important policy guidance:

> Apart from the general public interest in providing teachers an honorable and well-paid professional career, there is only one important question to be asked about education: What do the children learn?
>
> . . . .

> The outcome of schooling--what children learn--is profoundly different for different groups of children and different parts of the country. Although we do not seem to understand just what it is in one school or school system that produces a different outcome from another, one conclusion is inescapable: We do not yet have equal educational opportunity in America.
>
> . . . .
>
> This administration is committed to the principle and the practice of seeing to it that equal educational opportunity is provided every child in every corner of this land.
>
> I am well aware that 'quality education' is already being interpreted as 'code words' for a delay of desegregation. We must never let that meaning that hold. Quality is what education is all about; desegregation is vital to that quality; as we improve the quality of education for all American children, we will help them improve the quality of their own lives in the next generation.[12]

As finally issued on May 25, 1970, the Memorandum identified four major areas of concern relating to compliance with Title VI:

> 1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.
>
> 2. School districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language

> skills; nor may school districts deny national origin-minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.
>
> 3. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.
>
> 4. School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin-minority group parents of school activities which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

School districts were required by the Memorandum to determine their current compliance with Title VI. If the school district found itself either to be in noncompliance or to have questions about its compliance status, it was instructed to communicate with the Department as soon as possible on the understanding that technical assistance from the Department would be available.

Three Tasks

Even before the public release of the Memorandum on May 25, 1970, it became apparent that three separate tasks had to be completed before the Memorandum could become fully operational: (1) the development of a technique for investigating and a format for proving noncompliance with the various sections of the Memorandum which would meet legal requirements and which could be presented to field staff for implementation, (2) the development of an educational assistance capability in the Department to assist the office in negotiating compliance with the provisions of the Memorandum, particularly with regard to new educational programs which might be available to school districts seeking to come into compliance, and (3) the development of additional policies to particularize those discriminatory practices in each area of the Memorandum which resulted in noncompliance.

Section 1

The program development staff of the Office for Civil Rights decided to conduct a series of pilot reviews in order to develop an effective method for providing noncompliance with Section 1 of the Memorandum.

From a legal standpoint, it was observed that three basic propositions needed to be proven in order to demonstrate noncompliance with that Section:

1. National origin-minority students in the district enter the schools with different linguistic and cultural

backgrounds which directly affect their ability to speak and understand the English language.

2. National origin-minority students are excluded from effective participation in and the full benefits of the educational program (including success as measured by the district) of the district on a basis related to English language skills.

3. The district has failed to take effective affirmative action to equalize access of national origin-minority students to the full benefits of the educational program.

Support for the first proposition was educed by the program development staff utilizing two different foci: (1) the collection and analysis of data related to the home language and culture of national origin-minority children at the time they enter the system and (2) the collection and analysis of data related to the English language skills of the national origin-minority children at the time they enter the system.

Data was separated into categories (e.g., performance on a specific test) and a criterion was developed for each data category which clearly indicated either a lack of facility with English language skills or the presence of primary home language skills in Spanish. The data was collected with a consistent bias against low achievement indicators. The folders from which the data was obtained were those of 1970-71 second graders. Consequently, low scoring students who failed or were held back in first grade were not included. Only clearly failing (as opposed to marginally failing) scores (based on data supplied by the test publishers) were utilized for the criteria.

The collection of evidence to support the second and third propositions was again separable into two different foci. The first, the synchronic focus, involved a review of the educational performance of all students at grade level during the same time period. The third and sixth grades were used as the sample grade levels and data was obtained from the results of the test utilized by the school system to evaluate academic performance/success of elementary school children. Investigation was focused on early children performance because of its clearly demonstrated educational significance. Because of the emphasis in the May 25 Memorandum on language skills, performance of students on subbatteries of the test clearly keyed to language related skills was selected for close analysis.

The average raw score and percentile rank (only raw scores were averaged) of students of each ethnic group in each classroom were calculated. This analysis revealed, at the third grade level, an average performance gap between Mexican-American students and Anglo students in Vocabulary of -17 percentiles (35 percentile vs. 52 percentile), in Language Skills of -9 percentile (45 percentile vs. 54 percentile), and in Composite Score of -16 percentiles (45 percentile vs. 61 percentile).

At the sixth grade level, the performance gap between Mexican Americans and Anglos had widened to an average of 28 percentiles in Vocabulary (21 percentile vs. 49 percentile), 10 percentiles in Language Skills (44 percentile vs. 54 percentile) and 28 percentiles in Composite Score (30 percentile vs. 58 percentile).

A question arose as to whether Mexican-American students were actually losing ground year by year or whether the current third grade Mexican students were doing better than their sixth grade counterparts had done.

An analysis of the scores and percentile rankings of current eighth grade students (the diachronic focus) was made. The educational history of the class starting with performance on the standardized test administered at the third grade and terminating with performance on a compatibly normed seventh grade test revealed the following:

1. Seventy per cent of the eighth grade Mexican-American students received lower percentile rankings on the seventh grade test than on the third grade vocabulary test; 84 per cent of these students received lower percentile rankings on the seventh grade test vs. third grade composite test; 82 per cent of the students received lower percentile rankings on the sixth grade language skill test than on the third grade test; 90 per cent of the students received lower percentile rankings on the sixth grade composite test than on the third grade test.

2. The average decline of Mexican-American students in percentile rankings (compared with their earlier performance against national norms) varied from a decline of 15.1 percentiles in Language Skills to a decline of 20.5 percentiles in Vocabulary.

3. As measured against their Anglo counterparts, the performance gap of Mexican-American students had increased from 10.4 percentiles in Vocabulary at the third grade (36 percentile vs. 26 percentile) to 29.5 percentiles at the sixth (52 percentile vs. 23 percentile); from 11.2 percentiles in Language Skills at the third grade (38 percentile vs. 27 percentile) to 28.5 percentiles (59 percentile vs. 31 percentile) at the sixth; and, staggeringly, from 8.0 percentiles

in Composite Score at the third grade (37 percentile vs. 29 percentile) to 33.8 percentiles at the sixth (58 percentile vs. 25 percentile).

This analysis showed conclusively that the educational performance of Mexican-American students as compared against their prior performance was declining rapidly and--when compared to the performance profile of their Anglo peers--decidedly unequally. The exclusion of Mexican-American students from the full benefits of the educational program was not only occurring but was substantially increasing (on its way to dropout) each year. Pursuant to the final sentence of Section 2 of the Memorandum, an analysis of the assignment of pupils to ninth grade classes showing the correlation between verbal skill performance level and assignment to college preparatory and vocational track courses was conducted and very strong correlations observed. These students had been studied in depth in the preceding diachronic focus and the failure of the district to inculcate English language skills in the Mexican-American students had already been demonstrated.

Discussion with school district officials indicated that no action to equalize the access of Mexican-American students to the educational program had been taken by the district during the current school year and that none was planned for the foreseeable future.

Section 2

A program for proving noncompliance with the first part of Section 2 ("school districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills") was developed by means of a review of permanent record folders of students assigned to such classes. The tests utilized and scores attained (particularly on the Verbal I.Q. Subtest) reveal a heavy bias toward the evaluation of English language skills. The other major assignment criteria, teacher evaluation and achievement tests results, were heavily geared to educational performance in the language skill area (e.g., reading, ability to communicate ideas in English). A technique for proving discrimination in the operation of the assignment process has also been developed with primary attention devoted to: (1) the discriminatory overinclusion of minority group students, (2) the discriminatory underinclusion of Anglo students, and (3) the use of a different standard of effort and thoroughness in the evaluation of students based on their race, color, or national origin.

Section 3

The general prohibitions against the discriminatory use of ability grouping or tracking techniques to segregate Mexican-

American children set forth in Section 3 of the Memorandum have been expanded to require school districts to evince a comprehensive, educationally coherent rationale for any racially imbalanced ability grouping or tracking scheme. This rationale must include a clear statement of success criteria (related to upward movement), a detailed analysis of the nature and extent of and reasons for such separation, and an outline of both the instructional methodology to be employed in each grouping and the evaluation program to be utilized by the district to evaluate the success of the methodologies. In the pilot cases, the program developmental staff detected a racially discriminatory pattern of assignment to sections of various courses which was completely inconsistent with a "random" assignment technique alleged by the school district to be in use.

Section 4

The Department is currently undergoing extensive research and policy developmental activity as regards the school district's responsibility to adequately notify and involve parents in school affairs and activities. Proof of noncompliance with Section 4 of the Memorandum has been developed by (1) reviewing the written records of the school district as regards notification of parents (PTA meetings, truancy notices, school activity notices, etc.), (2) interviewing community and school district personnel to ascertain the the language or languages in which meetings and activities are conducted, and (3) surveying the home language of parents of students (through home language data collection items utilized pursuant to Section 1).

Enforcement Action

In February of this year, a letter of noncompliance was sent to the first of the pilot districts. After discussing the analysis of data collected in the district pertaining to noncompliance with Sections 1, 2, and 3 of the Memorandum, the letter states:

> Therefore, it will be necessary that the district develop and implement a plan which will utilize all available resources to equalize the educational access of all children in order to eliminate significant differences in educational performance attributal to membership in any racial or ethnic group.
>
> . . . .
>
> One consequence of your district's failure to meet the educational needs of the minority pupils is an undue concentration for such pupils placed in Special Education classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure and evaluate English language skills.
>
> In connection with the failure of the school district to take effective affirmative steps to equalize access to the educational program, Mexican-American children appear to have been denied access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the system's failure to inculcate English language

> skills. The decline previously noted in the educational performance of the students with language difficulties carries through to high school where although Mexican Americans constitute about 50% of the students, they comprise only about 10% of the advanced group and between 80% and 90% of the lower high school grouping of students not receiving college preparatory work. Although the total number of high school students is almost evenly distributed between Anglos and Mexican Americans, almost two-thirds of those in college preparatory courses are Anglo and one-third are Mexican American.

The letter concludes by offering the school district the services of an educational program team to work with the district to develop a compliance plan. Two weeks later the Department received a letter from the district requesting the services of the educational program team. The Intra-Departmental Advisory Committee subsequently dispatched a team to evaluate the district's educational program and to recommend appropriate changes.

Task Group on Implementation of the Memorandum

Immediately after release of the May 25 Memorandum, a Departmental task group was established to assist in its implementation. Outstanding Mexican-American and Puerto Rican educators, psychologists, and community and civil rights leaders were invited to join the group. The avowed task of the group was to develop additional policies to particularize those discriminatory practices in each area of the Memorandum which resulted in noncompliance.

In June, 1970, the Task Group held its first meeting in Denver, Colorado, to discuss its responsibilities and determine policy developmental priorities. Individual work groups studied and discussed the issues raised in each of the substantive sections of the Memorandum.

It was decided that the productive initial focus for policy development would be the first part of the second section of the Memorandum dealing with the assignment of national origin-minority group children to special education classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills.[13] Accordingly, a committee of the task group was appointed to develop and present to the Task Group a draft policy covering the matter.

Policy development by the Task Group in this area has dealt with those basic components of a nondiscriminatory assignment mechanism which are indispensable to the adequate protection of rights. Such issues as the use of pluralistic norms (involving sociocultural background data) to interpret test results, adaptive behavior data, and the necessity and nature of community involvement are being carefully considered.

Intra-Departmental Advisory Committee

In view of the rapid program development of techniques for proving noncompliance, the Office of Education in April, 1971, established an Intra-Departmental Advisory Committee to develop strategies for, and supervise the rendering of educational program assistance to school districts found to be in noncompliance.

A group of approximately seventy-five outstanding Mexican-American, Puerto Rico, and Native American educators, psychologists, and community leaders met in San Diego on April 28-30th to begin the identification of bilingual-bicultural program models for the Office of Education.

The educational philosophy of the Committee is reflected in an excerpt from a letter with enclosures from HEW Secretary, Elliot Richardson, to Senator F. Mondale dated August 3, 1970:

> The effects of ethnic isolation, rural and urban, on the educational development of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and American Indian children are both severe and long term. Ethnic isolation often creates a homogeneity of educational environment in which a perception of cultural diversity, without an assumption of cultural superiority, cannot occur. Moreover, this homogeneity effectively precludes the interaction of children from different socio-economic and ethnic home environments. Every major report or research project dealing with the educational problems and needs of 'disadvantaged' children has concluded that educational development (learning) is greatly hindered by a homogenous learning environment. Children learn more from each other than from any other resource of the educational

environment. To create and perpetuate homogeneity is to greatly reduce the pool of experience, ideas and values from which children can draw and contribute in interaction with other children. In a heterogenous educational environment cultural diversity can be presented in an exciting interaction/awareness/growth process which is education in its truest sense. This diversity can be presented and perceived as enriching the total human environment rather than as threatening to a particular cultural insularity.

Another important problem related to ethnic isolation relates to the effect of such isolation on educational motivation and psychological development of the isolated child. While the segregated Anglo child is equally deprived of a heterogeneity of educational environment which could lead to increased educational development, he is rarely confronted with a school environment which directly rejects his language and, less directly, but just as devestatingly, rejects the culture of his home environment: lifestyle, clothes, food, family relationships, physical appearance, etc. The Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and American Indian child is constantly isolated by an eductionally sanctioned picture of American society which produces a consciousness of separation and then exclusion and then inferiority. Realizing this exclusion from the dominant Anglo society (as presented by the mass media, advertising, textbooks, etc.), the child perceives a rejection by the society of his home which he personalizes as a rejection of his parents; and finally, a rejection of himself. This shattering process of self concept destruction often leads to withdrawal from or hostility toward the educational system. Attitude or posturing toward the learning environment is the single most important factor in the process of educational development.

Finally, the maintenance of ethnic isolation creates for the Spanish-speaking or Indian language-speaking child the additional disadvantage of depriving him of the most important resource for English language skill development--regular interaction and communication with English-speaking children.

> In summary, some of the most important needs of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and American Indian children related to ethnic isolation are:
>
> 1. The need for ethnic or cultural diversity in the educational environment: HETEROGENEITY
>
> 2. The need for total institutional reposturing (including culturally sensitizing teachers, instructional materials and educational approaches) in order to incorporate, affirmatively recognize and value the cultural environment of ethnic minority children so that the development of positive self-concept can be accelerated: BI-CULTURAL APPROACHES: with, as an important corollary:
>
> 3. The need for language programs that introduce and develop English language skills without demeaning or otherwise deprecating the language of a child's home environment and thus without presenting English as a more valued language: BI-LINGUAL COMPONENT.
>
> To meet the needs of ethnically isolated children described in numbers 2 & 3 above, participation of Anglo children in the Bi-Cultural/Bi-Lingual programs is essential.[14]

The first item of business for the Committee (during the month of March) was the fielding of an educational program team to assist the first of the pilot districts found to be in noncompliance. The HEW educational program team which visited the district in April set forth three basic principles underlying its recommendations:

1. That the cultural and linguistic pluralism of the student body necessitates the utilization of instructional approaches (in addition to those now used) which reflect the

learning styles, background, and behavior of all segments of the student community; modification of curriculum design and the development of new instructional skills and materials are part of the development of pluralistic instructional approaches.

2. That the educational program of the district incorporate, affirmatively recognize and value the environment and language background of all of its children, so that the development of positive self-concepts in all children of the district can proceed apace.

3. That language programs be implemented that introduce and develop language skills in a secondary language (English for many Mexican-American students; Spanish for Anglo students), while at the same time, reinforcing and developing language skills in the primary language, so that neither English nor Spanish is presented as a more valued language.

The team concluded its report by recommending:

1. Introduction of an in-service training program designed to assist teachers in redefining their role in a bilingual-bicultural community and in the development of a curriculum that is relevant to the needs of all students. Initiation of a recruiting program is needed to substantially increase the number of bilingual-bicultural teachers and teacher aides as soon as possible.

2. Implementation of a program of instruction in each of the district's elementary schools, at all grade levels, that would reflect a bilingual-bicultural approach to the small group instructional methodology currently utilized by the District for Language Arts, Reading, Social Science, Mathematics, and Creative Arts.

Such an approach would require the use of both English and Spanish as languages of instruction for all children, with the concurrent development of the primary and secondary language skills of all children, so that reading and writing are introduced in the child's primary language at the same time initial language development is begun in the second language. The ultimate goal of such an approach is to create a learning situation in which each child should be able to use both languages interchangeably as modes of learning and communicating.

The success of the above described program of instruction depends upon the reflection of the cultural pluralism of the student population in the curricular materials, teaching styles, and learning environment of the classroom. The learning and incentive-motivational styles of all students should be carefully and regularly evaluated, and teaching strategies developed, modified and expanded accordingly. Diagnostic testing and teacher observation should be utilized to identify individual learning profiles.

Periodic assessment and evaluation of both the cognitive and affective development of children related to the program of instruction should be conducted. Conclusions drawn from such assessment and evaluations should be reflected in corresponding changes in the instructional approach.

3. Classroom and other instructional environments should be heterogenous in terms of race, ethnicity, and sociocultural background so as to assure that the process by which each child can draw from a pool of experience, ideas, and values in order to contribute in interaction with other children is not stifled by a homogeneity of educational environment in which cultural superiority or inferiority, rather than cultural diversity, is perceived. Classrooms should be reorganized so as to create small instructional groupings to meet the individual educational needs of the students.

4. In order to bridge the gap between the community (including the home) and the school, community resources, including parents of children, older siblings, and paraprofessionals, should be utilized in both instructional and noninstructional roles.

5. Assignment of students to classes for the educably mentally retarded should be predicated upon a careful review, by an advisory committee which includes persons broadly

representative of the community, of the information developed by (a) psychometric indicators interpreted with medical and sociocultural background data, and the teacher's referral and (b) adaptive behavior data.

6. The establishment of an ongoing relationship with outside educational resources which can be of assistance in the development and implementation of the various programs discussed herein.

The culmination of the joint efforts of the pilot district and the department will be the implementation of a comprehensive educational plan utilizing all available resources of the district, human and financial (including Federal funds), to bring about an equally comfortable and accessible educational environment for all of the district's children. In such a setting, equal educational performance profiles can be brought about by individualized instructional techniques, predicated upon an understanding and utilization of the communication, learning, and incentive-motivational styles of the children.

The Future

In the twelve months since the issuance of the May 25 memorandum, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has developed a comprehensive program for implementation in the field. Techniques for proving noncompliance with the various sections of the memorandum have been developed and field tested and have passed legal muster. New issues are being investigated as training programs make operational these investigative and analytical techniques.

As the Office for Civil Rights completes its task of developing techniques for proving noncompliance, the importance of developing specific implemental policies and expanding its educational assistance resources becomes paramount.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will continue to place primary reliance on the policy developmental capabilities of both the Task Group and Advisory Committee, confident of both skills and dedication of the educators, psychologists, and community leaders involved.

FOOTNOTES

[1] 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

[2] 339 U.S. 629 (1950)

[3] 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

[4] 347 U.S. 485

[5] ____ U.S. ____ (1971)

[6] Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[7] In Perez vs. Sonora Independent School District the Department of Justice intervened on behalf of the United States in order to seek relief for Mexican-American children segregated and discriminated against in schools of the district on the basis of their national origin. A final decision in the case is still pending.

[8] Sec. 601, Civil Rights Act of 1964; 78 Stat. 252; 42 U.S.C. 2000d

[9] Section 602, Civil Rights Act of 1964; 78 Stat. 252; 42 U.S.C. 2000d.

[10] The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights provided and has continued to provide valuable data on the segregation of Mexican-American children.

[11] A Report of the Texas Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1970).

[12] President's Education Reform Message of March 9, 1970, Presidential Documents, VI, 10, pp. 305-306.

[13] See "The Six-Hour Retarded Child," A Report of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation (1970).

[14] Hearings Before Select Committee on Educational Opportunity of United States Senate, Ninety-first Congress, II Session, on Equal Educational Opportunities, Part III.

IV

THE CHALLENGE OF BICULTURAL EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

by

Alfredo Castañeda

Professor Juan Aragon's paper highlights the differences among five factors which produce a culturally diverse society and which should be included in the pre- and in-service preparation of teachers. But who shall develop such teacher training programs, particularly as they relate to the education of Mexican-American children? Professor Aragon's conclusion is, basically, those persons already possessing the "cultural capital," rather than "retreading" traditionally oriented university trainers of teachers. He suggests that the job could be better done by people already steeped in the culture--Mexican-American professors.

Professor Thomas P. Carter has extended Robert Brischetto's typology of social science perceptions of minority group life in order to examine how educators perceive Mexican Americans and what corollary educational programs they develop. His schema delineates four distinct clusters, each with its own theoretical assumptions, objectives, and programs. Educators, social scientists, and educational administrators will find Professor Carter's analysis timely and useful. In fact, the reader may find his schema helpful as a framework for reading several of the papers in this volume.

The educational needs of Mexican-American children are described in some detail in Professor Horacio Ulibarrí's paper. His central theme is that cultural differences are essentially explainable in terms of differences in the economic bases of cultures, e.g., agrarian versus industrial. Life styles are seen as circumscribed by the different environments (rural versus urban) and the value systems each produces. Thus, bicultural education programs need to take into account the environment in which the individual lives, otherwise . . . "to attempt to teach an urban student cultural elements from a rural agrarian based culture may be, at best, giving him irrelevant subject matter or, at worst, interjecting dysfunctional coping behavior."

Professor Carlos E. Cortés develops four important guidelines that can be followed by the teacher in an attempt to combat ingrained societal prejudice. One of Professor Cortés' goals is to develop a Greater American concept which would "place in proper perspective the bicultural heritage and multiethnic reality of the United States . . . by purging American education of its prejudice-producing ethnocentricism," rooted historically in the European power struggle over New World domination and exemplified today in the anti-Chicano stereotypes he terms the Modern Black Legend.

THE CHALLENGE TO BICULTURALISM: CULTURALLY DEFICIENT EDUCATORS TEACHING CULTURALLY DIFFERENT CHILDREN [1]

by

Juan A. Aragón *

". . . with liberty and justice for all." This statement is now being questioned by Chicanos and other minorities. Why? Did something go wrong? If so, who is to blame--who will answer?

You will answer.
I will answer.
We will answer!

Each of us must--but how?

We can't answer the aching emotions of the black-haired, brown-eyed children by drawing on the training we received in traditional classes at our universities.

The whole notion of education presumes that there is a common understanding between the professional and the client. Even when this commonality exists, education presents a most difficult taks. It is difficult when the professional and the client are from common backgrounds; it becomes doubly

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difficult when the professional and the client are culturally different. Please note that the term used here is "culturally different:" and not culturally deficient, culturally disadvantaged, or culturally deprived. The client and the professional may be culturally different but neither one is higher nor lower than the other. For sometime now, it has been suspected educators have sought refuge in attributing to culturally different children negative attributes. The mental health of the teacher demands this. He has had to ascribe his inability to succeed with the culturally different child to deficiencies in the client. He so desperately wanted to be helpful. His intentions have been good; his results have been marginal. Thus he had to ascribe these marginal results to one of two things, his own inability and lack of understanding or the inabilities of the client. His mental health demanded that he subscribe to the latter of the two alternatives. His training was based on the presumption that he could work only with "normal" abnormal students. It hasn't always worked out that way. In some instances he was trained to work with culturally different children who were at best defined by him or his professors as products of the culture of poverty and the implications for teaching for that "culture."

Most educators are trained to deal with vocational guidance. However, if poverty were wiped out in this country of ours, the issues of cultural pluralism in our schools would still face us. Let us treat the culture of poverty briefly so that we may put this issue to rest and thus apply ourselves to the real cultural conflict facing us in teaching and counseling.

The phenomenon of socio-economic deprivation is a culture of its own, having little to do with ethnicity. Poor white children in Appalachia belong to the culture of poverty. Poor Puerto Rican children in New York's Spanish Harlem belong to the culture of poverty. Poor Mexican children in Los Angeles' East Side belong to the culture of poverty. Poor Navajo children on the streets of Gallup, New Mexico, belong to the culture of poverty. These clients need good teaching and guidance services desperately because they are socio-economically deprived. They also need good teaching and guidance services because they are culturally different.

Techniques in aiding the client in breaking the vicious cycle of poverty are needed for children of all ethnic and cultural background, but these kinds of guidance efforts are directed to poverty issues and have only limited ethnicity dimension. Thus, what is being said should not be confused with speaking to the culture of poverty. It pretends rather to speak to true cultural differences and conflicts, and includes those children of ethnic minorities who are victims of poverty. and may also be middle class Puerto Ricans, middle class

Mexicans, and middle class Indians whose cultural values will be significantly different from those of the middle class White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. It is these clients that the teacher is particularly unprepared to serve.

How does one teach the student whose values are on a different wave length than those of the professional? Counseling these students to acquire greater socio-economic mobility is only part of the answer.

A teacher who advises a Pueblo Indian child to prepare himself to compete in the socio-economic mainstream of American society does not only fail to understand the concept of competition in the Pueblo value structure, but he fails to understand that the mobility required to fully function is contrary to the Pueblo's feeling for land and his relationship to it. The teacher who implies that his Spanish-speaking client acquire sophisticated attributes fails to understand that the word "sophisticated" is permeated with negative overtones in the Spanish language.

In essence then, we are talking about cultural pluralism. Can this country of ours give serious consideration to cultural pluralism or even should it? The writer believes it can and should.

The writer believes that the current and late coming concern with geographic diversity is well justified. This country needs geographic diversity to fulfill its national and international goals and to enrich the life style of the total country. It also needs human diversity. It needs educators in general and school administrators in particular, who will reinforce cultural differences and mutual respect among our people. How does one do it? One first has to define culture. Anthropologists tend to be global in their definition and claim that culture is the sum total of man's knowledge. Sociologists have been dealing with the concept of culture for some time and have written volumes on it.

The content in which culture is used in the educational world is in the process of being formulated. The writer believes that a good beginning for a definition of culture might include the following things:

Language
Diet
Costuming
Social Patterns
Ethics

Language

The teacher must understand that there is a cultural difference between "my name is John" and "yo me llamo Júan."

The first is a scientific, encyclopedic, and objective statement of a fact; it transmits information only. The second transmit the same information, but in addition the statement is a philosophical posture, indeed a challenge. "I choose to call myself 'Júan' (Want to make something of it?)."

LEARN, AMIGO, LEARN!

Diet

The teacher who doesn't appreciate the fact that fruit juice, whole grain cereal, sausage, and the always present toast (whole wheat) is a breakfast limited to only a small percentage of his clients, is sailing into the teeth of stormy seas.

Chicanos, Indians, and Puerto Ricans have other notions of what the ideal breakfast should be. Their breakfast is as nutritious and quite often much tastier.

LEARN, AMIGO, LEARN!

Costuming

Flamboyancy in dress or in personal adornment is a mark of historical and cultural differences and not a matter of poor taste.

LEARN, AMIGO, LEARN!

Social Patterns

How can one advise a client is one is ignorant of the concept of the extended family and its vital and emotional bonds.

J. F. Kennedy appointed his brother to be his chief legal advisor. The Chicano Community understood and applauded. The

WASP Community was shocked and dismayed.

"Home is where I hang my hat," is a value, a judgment which is incomprehensible to a Chicano or an Indian. Yet it represents a way of life to a culture which values speed and mobility.

LEARN, AMIGO, LEARN!

Ethics

Nepotism is considered by some to be unethical. In other cultures nepotism is a value. The function of power, status and prestige may be to help those one loves and trusts.

LEARN, AMIGO, LEARN!

A group of people that are alike in the five areas just mentioned could safely be referred to as a cultural group. Truly culturally different children find that these are the areas in which they meet conflict in the traditional curricula; it is in the ignoring, downgrading, or undercutting of these that the schools bring about the emotional crippling on the part of clients which haunts educators and contaminates the human environment of our society. It seems, therefore. that teachers should include in their pre-service preparation and in their in-service efforts, experiences which will help them to familiarize themselves with the magic components that make a culturally diverse society exciting and productive. Once having familiarized themselves with these components of culture, the teacher must find ways to bring positive reinforcement to the client. A reinforcement that will bring about a positive self-image.

In summation, the teacher must be ever prepared to face the "We are all Americans" and "This is America" crowd who keep fighting the notion of a pluralistic society and promoting a monolingual and monocultural citizenry in the most narrow-minded and short-sighted way. Their belief appears to be that being different is un-American, that homogeneity (as in milk), that mass production (as in refrigerators), is the great American purpose. Let them. That is all right, they are doing their thing as they see it. It is up to us, however, to do our thing, as we see it. This is the American way. The writer submits that ignorance and intolerance are criminal and infinitely more un-American. Human beings are not doughnuts and cannot be mass produced. I say, "Viva la diferencia."

The voice of America must be multilingual if it is to make sense throughout the world.

The Indians, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos have demostrated time and again that they make excellent soldiers, reliable taxpayers, worthy civil servants--in every way good Americans.

Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Indians make lousy Anglos!

LEARN. AMIGO, LEARN!

The central issue is simple. It is found in the title of this paper, "The Challenge to Biculturalism: Culturally Deficient Educators Teaching Culturally Different Children."

Teachers currently in service will have to be provided strong and creative in-service programs. This, however, is not enough. Teacher training institutions must be affected. Otherwise, we will be faced with a never-ending job.

At the higher education level we have two choices: (1) retrain the teacher trainers and (2) insist that the universities hire people with cultural capital to do the needed job.

The writer believes the second choice is the better of the two alternatives. He sees no reason why we should approach the challenge of biculturalism with the "second team"--a group of traditionally oriented university personnel who have been "retreaded" to do a job that could better be done by people already steeped in the culture. In this instance I refer specifically to Mexican-American professors. The people to do the job are already available, but in some instances would encounter credentialing obstacles.

It is proposed that the money needed to do a "retread" on the first group could better be used by financial aid to credential the second group mentioned. This proposal calls for financial aid to be made available to institutions of higher learning who are willing to design graduate programs to produce credentialed (doctorate) Chicano professors to take functional positions in bicultural programs in Washington. D.C., State Education Agencies, positions of leadership in local units, as well as in university faculties.

To do less would be cheating this country of the quality resources it so vitally needs.

THE PERSISTENCE OF A PERSPECTIVE

by

Thomas P. Carter*

One perspective continues to permeate educational thinking concerning the schooling of Mexican-American children. Educators stress that persistent low academic and social achievement is primarily attributable to the cultural characteristics of the group itself, not to the socioeconomic system and institutions of the majority society. Assuming this "rationale," educators perceive the school's role as remodeling, retooling. and reorienting Chicano children into the very model of the middle class. Even creative programs involving the use of Spanish-Hispanic culture, and community involvement are perceived as steps to compensate for group perpetuated cultural deficiencies and as efforts toward "Americanization." The "cultural deprivation" theory and its dependent "compensatory education" programs remain the only well-developed fully conceptualized approach. The fact that no other comprehensive models are available deters other change--to promote institutional modification educators must develop other well conceptualized rationales and programs. This paper explores possible alternatives.

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Recently Robert Brischetto developed a typology of social science perception of minority group life.[1] While suffering from the problems of oversimplification and polarization inherent to all such schema, it is useful in examining how educators perceive Chicanos, and the corollary educational approaches they develop. Brischettos' typology elaborates a dichotomy developed by Nick Vaca. To Vaca, one polar position, the "structural-environmental" determinist, postulates ". . . that the causes of the social problem of the Mexican American is directly traced to the door of the economic and social structure of American society."[2] The other pole of his theoretical dichotomy is the "cultural-determinist" which postulates it is:

> . . . the cultural baggage of the Mexican American that was the main cause of the social ills . . . as part and parcel of the Mexican American's psychological 'self'--something from within him, assiduously inculcated in him by Mexico's traditonal folk culture and perpetuated by Mexican Americans in their ethnic enclaves . . .[3]

Brischetto refers to the "structural-environmental" view as "external," the "cultural-determinist" as "internal." Each of these two polar perspectives is elaborated by developing a distinction between the positive and negative consequences of minority group life styles. His four-fold schema is graphically outlined in Figure A. Each perspective has its implicit corollary educational theory, objectives, and programs, as Figure B illustrates.

Figure A

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS' VIEW OF MINORITY GROUP LIFE STYLES ACCORDING TO THEIR CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

CONSEQUENCES OF MINORITY GROUP LIFE STYLES ARE CHIEFLY:

are chiefly:	positive	negative
internal	(1) Minority group life styles constitute a distinct subculture which provides a satisfying way of life. Minority group members as "NOBLE SAVAGES"	(2) Minority group life styles constitute a distinct subculture which perpetuates deficiencies along generational lines. Minority group members as "PATHOLOGICAL"
external	(3) Minority group life styles are functional adaptations to external restraints imposed by the larger society. Minority group members as "COPERS"	(4) Minority group life styles are disruptive responses to external restraints imposed by the larger society. Minority group members as "THE OPPRESSED"

Source: Brischetto (1971, Figure 1)

Figure B

EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES COROLLARY TO BRISCHETTO'S SOCIAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVES

	positive	negative
internal	(Cell A) Theory: CULTURAL ENHANCEMENT * * * Objective: enculturation into Mexican-American culture * * * Programs: emphasis on Mexican-American culture and Spanish programs to raise cultural awareness. group and self-esteem	(Cell B) Theory: CULTURAL DEPRIVATION (or the extreme "cultural pathology" position) * * * Objectives: acculturation into middle class values and orientation * * * Programs: "compensatory education"
external	(Cell C) Theory: DEFAULT OF THE SCHOOL * * * Objective: eliminate all aspects of institutional racism and other subordinating factors--enhance the ability to cope (?) * * * Programs: biculturalism and bilingualism (?)	(Cell D) Theory: DEFAULT OF THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY * * * Objective: similar to Cell D * * * Programs: similar to Cell C

The "cultural deprivation" theory is clearly the educational corollary of Brischetto's "Pathological" social science perspective. In the case of the other three positions, no educational orientation is well developed or fully conceptualized--thus presenting real problems in developing a typology. An effort is made to develop logical educational derivitives of the four perspectives. The purpose of the two typologies is to stimulate thinking and develop theoretical and programatic alternatives, not to endorse any of the necessarily extreme positions. The desired alternative models may well be some combination of perspectives and programs. In explaining each orientation (Cell), I examine four contemporary educational concerns: (1) the role of the Mexican-American community, (2) the role of Spanish, (3) the treatment of Indo-Hispanic culture, and (4) the separation or isolation of Anglo and Mexican-American children.

"Internal" Perspectives

According to Brischetto the social science literature subscribing to the "Noble Savage" point of view depicts:

> . . . minority life as constituting a distinct bio-cultural system which provides a satisfying way of life for its members. In its extreme form this view conceives of the minority poor as 'noble savages' (emphasis on the noble)--as unencumbered by the inhibitions of majority group middle-class life.[4]

In this case Mexican-American cultural and personality characteristics are seen as positive and functional. the very opposite of the "cultural deprivation" perspective. The "positive" position was well-stated by the writers of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán: "Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as powerful weapons to defeat the Gringo dollar-value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood." 5 Evident here is the stress on the superiority of Mexican-American culture which provides a foundation for some educational, political, and social movements. Other spokesmen do not stress Mexican-American cultural superiority. Nevertheless, there appears to be a strong desire to perpetuate and strengthen the same attributes most educational practioners wish to obliterate or at least to substantially modify. Both Cell A and B thinkers minimize the influence of the dominant system, while stressing the force and constancy of ethnic cultural patterns. "Cultural deprivationists" do not recognize societal and institutional forces--Cell A clearly recognizes these forces, but tends to minimize their importance by maximizing the importance of "internal" factors. Little agreement exists on what constitutes the appropriate educational approach of the "Noble Savage" or for that matter. the other two positions. For this reason and for purposes of clarity, I attempt to develop a cohesive. albeit extreme. educational approach.

Reacting strongly to the objective of acculturation. "cultural enhancers" opt instead for enculturation. To reach this goal. the curricular content, sequence, and methods of the schools are drawn from Mexican-American sociocultural traditions. The dominant cultural tradition would probably be included, but would be minimized--perhaps treated as schools presently treat "foreign cultures." In order to enculturate the young, schools almost universally glorify and idealize the heritage they teach. It seems logical that this also would be the treatment afforded the Indo-Hispanic heritage. One would probably find that Benito Juarez, or other historic figures, characterized in glorified, "all-good-and-all-pure" ways. Spanish would be the principle language of instruction; English probably taught as are present ESL (English as a Second Language) programs. Through the use of Spanish and the emphasis on Mexican-American culture, children would be equipped to perpetuate their life style against pressure from the dominant society to change it. They would be encourage by this psychological foundation to develop a positive view of themselves and their group--thus providing the intestinal fortitude to resist and perhaps modify the dominant system. In order to accomplish this, Cell A proponents want either partial or complete separation of Mexican-American children from others, arguing that doing so will provide the peer support essential and minimize the distraction from other traditions. All aspects of school should be controlled by those of Mexican descent. Cooperation between parents and educators would be encouraged. In a sense, this perspective argues the "community or neighborhood" school concept just as many Anglos do. Only in this case, the control, focus of the curriculum, and the objectives are drawn from a different neighborhood and community. The cultural enhancers take a positive view of the same attributes that the following position sees as negative.

Social scientists, assuming the "Pathological" perspective, see minority groups as perpetuating and sustaining dysfunctional or inherently deficient characteristics. This view has gained ascendancy over other explanations for a number of reasons. Principal among these is that such a rationale coheres beautifully with the American brand of ethnocentrism--if minorities have problems it is due to their peculiar foreign culture. Few Americans have been exposed to other ways of thinking. When this view is coupled with the "melting pot" or acculturationist orientation, that minorities will be accepted only when they become "good like us," the basic rationale for the "cultural deprivation-compensatory education" (Cell B) approach is obvious. This is further strengthened by the omnipresent belief that the American school was the principal agent of acculturation of diverse immigrant groups.

Explicit in the concept that some children are culturally deprived is the idea that certain nurturing cultures do not provide the necessary influences to make children successful in school or acceptable in the majority society. This concept

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Explicit in the concept that some children are culturally deprived is the idea that certain nurturing cultures do not provide the necessary influences to make children successful in school or acceptable in the majority society. This concept implies that the principal role of the school is to act as the first of a chain of influences that cause "disadvantaged" children to accept middle class culture--that is. the school's function in society is to reeducate the culturally distinct. Also implicit in this concept is the assumption that the school is essentially satisfactory as it now exists, and that it is a valid representation of American culture. External causes in society or school are viewed as nonexistent or of slight consequence; structural or curricular modifications of the school are superficial.

In order to determine the "causitive differences or deficiencies," studies have been conducted of Mexican-American homes, children, and life styles. The conclusions of these studies, while often confusing and contradictory, provide a generalized and stereotyped description of Mexican-American cultural and personality characteristics. The "social science-education" litany of these deficiencies is well known and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the school assumes it must substitute positive attributes for the negative ones. During the last ten years educators have attempted all manner of programs to accomplish this end. Programs continue in spite of little or no documentation of success.

The role of the Mexican-American community in compensatory education programs is difficult to assess. The traditional policy or practice is to minimize community influence which is accomplished in numerous well-established ways. Educators argue the importance of minimizing community influence in two ways: (1) "educators know best" and (2) as Americanization is to be fostered, "contamination" of the school by "foreign" influence should be kept at a minimum. Other educators encourage community involvement as aides, community workers, PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), etc. They see participation as important so that Anglo (and school) influence can be carried to the home. Parents are seen as an efficient "bridge" to encourage changes in the children as well as to change the parent's life style. A similar situation exists with the Spanish language and Mexican-American culture. Either efforts are made to exclude the two from the school, or they are included to serve as "bridges" toward more effective and rapid learning of English and the "American way."

There is a strong tendency to argue for the separation or isolation of Mexican-American children, either in separate schools or classes. Those that argue on "compensatory" grounds see isolation as to the benefit of the children--that keeping them separate will best enable them to overcome language and personality deficiencies. Thus, they can acquire the self-confidence and capabilities essential to compete with Anglos.

Educators of this persuasion stress that Mexican-American children are damaged in school and future life by low self-esteem and negative self-concept of ability. Efforts to overcome such debilitating attributes are regularly undertaken and almost invariably are directed at the child rather than at school related factors contributing to the internalization of "failure." Sometimes Spanish and "Mexican heritage" classes are used in a "compensatory" manner to accomplish this end. An extreme variant of this position holds that certain aspects of the personality and value orientation of Mexican-American children are truly pathological; that certain characteristics are so personally and/or socially dysfunctional as to demand extreme remedial measures. In private conversation, a few educators have proposed rigorous behavior modification or operant conditioning techniques to cure the "illness."

Regardless of the programs, the child and his "cultural baggage" are seen as the principal impediment to school success. The diversity of programs in the school confuses the analyst; regardless, most educators continue to explain almost any program on the basis that it will help children overcome the deficiencies produced by home socialization.

"External" Perspectives

The following section examines two social science perspectives which trace the problem to the majority society and its institutions.

A few educators take the corollary default of society and school view. Leo Lopez stated it well in 1964:

> I take exception to the word 'problem' when referring to the Mexican-American community or the youngster, or so referring to any youngster regardless of his racial background. It is not a minority problem . . . not a problem of the child and so forth. It is a problem of the school, of the total community, of society. So, consequently . . . as we seek solution to these problems, let us not look within little Juan--let's see if we can find the solution to his problem within us.[6]

On the "positive side" of the dichotomy (Cell 3), the term "Copers" suggests:

> . . . that in spite of (or perhaps because of) the numerous external restraints upon the minority group, its members develop adoptive mechanisms for dealing with their situtation. These coping mechanisms are very functional for survival and form an important part of their life style.[7]

The "oppressed" (Cell 4) position contends that the consequences ". . . are seen as mainly disruptive responses to conditions imposed by the larger society."[8] The two stances are difficult to separate, in fact, many authorities see both functional and dysfunctional adaptations as the consequence of external pressures. A distinction can best be made by example: minority group present-time orientation and fatalism can be seen as "positive" functional adaptations to a system that provides little realistic hope of a secure future, and little more than day-to-day subsistance. Criminal behavior induced by the same dominant society might be seen as "negative," dysfunctional, and disruptive.

As with the social scientists, educational orientations tend to differ mostly by degree. Both positions stress school related factors as being principally responsible, and advocate their elimination. The list of institutional subordinating factors is long, but not well developed or documented. They include segregation, separation and isolation, rigid ability grouping, reliance on invalid tests, cultural exclusion, distortion or omission of Mexican-American content(e. g., perpetuation of the *leyenda negra*), biased staff, low staff expectations, the self-fulfilling prophesy, authoritarianism, curricular irrelevancy and conflict, and a host of other school factors. Advocacy of the elimination of institutional subordinating mechanisms (or institutional racism) is common to both perspectives. The "oppressed" position might go further than mere changes in the school. Educators stressing this approach might desire to use the school as a political or social force to change society--to eliminate the forces that encourage dysfunctional cultural adaptations. A good example of this approach is found in Nat Hentoff's *Our Children are Dying*.[9] Dr. Shapiro, the principal of a center-city school, not only caused radical changes in his elementary school, but was active in rent strikes and other activities to either eliminate oppressive conditions or force the superordinate society to respond to legitimate concerns of the community.

Efforts to seriously modify the school, much less use the school to change society, are rare almost to the point of nonexistence.

The basic flaw of these two educational perspectives is that they are negative reactions to problems--detailing faults but failing to develop positive alternatives. No one source has spelled out what can be done or the appropriate ways to accomplish the necessary changes. Such an operation is two-fold: first, "external" causes must be made understandable to educators (a real chore in itself), and secondly, school programs must be developed.

Tentatively I suggest that the educational objective of both cells is to enhance the ability "to cope." This implies that the learner while keeping his culture, be (1) able to use standard English when it is appropriate to a given social situation when it is to the individual's benefit and (2) knowledgeable about middle class culture in order to successfully function within that society if desired or if presented with the opportunity.

Assuming acceptance of the "coping" objective, two other school related mechanisms are essential. Concomitant with the new approach, steps must be taken to assist the learner: (1) to decide in what social contexts each language and pattern of behavior is appropriate and (2) to ameliorate whatever culture conflict is unintentionally engendered by the presentation of a different culture. Additionally the coping objective might include teaching children and adults methods or techniques useful in "causing" institutional or social change.

Perhaps some form of two-way bilingual-bicultural school organization would be most appropriate to these two orientations.[10] Such organization has the advantages of encouraging sustained equal status interaction between Anglos and Mexican Americans, being best accomplished in desegregated schools, and teaching "coping" to Anglos. The latter point means Anglos would learn Spanish and understand Mexican-American culture. If de facto segregation is continued, one-way bilingual-bicultural organization is appropriate. Such school organization is also appropriate to Cell A and B, though objectives and approaches would probably differ.

As both the "negative and positive" positions see the problem to be institutional and societal pressures, it seems logical that both would encourage the cooperation of the Mexican-American community. Both perspectives recognize that to eliminate problems, the support of and pressure from the community are essential. If bicultural-bilingual organization is undertaken the contribution of both parent cultural groups is equally important--as they become a principal source of the cultural content of the curriculum.

In Closing

A four dimensional typology of views of minority group life styles has been presented--each social science perspective encourages a corollary educational approach. Only the "cultural deprivation-compensatory education" model has gained acceptance. This ready acceptance is due to many forces, including American cultural orientations toward ethnic groups. Regardless, efforts to change this approach are hampered by the lack of well-developed, cohesive, and internally consistant educational alternatives. Alternative educational approaches for each social science view are tentatively suggested. Future reorientation of educators will partially depend on the success of educators in fully developing school programs and approaches.

The four-way schema presents many limitations--undoubtedly other cells must be developed. However, it is hoped that this framework will stimulate analysis as well as the much needed programs. The "cultural deprivation-compensatory education" model has persisted for too many years. Anything to hasten its demise would be greatly appreciated.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Robert R. Brischetto, Social Scientists' Views of Minority Group Life Styles: A Classification of Perspectives on Blacks and Chicanos, unpublished paper presented at the March, 1971 meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, Texas.

[2] Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences, 1912-1970; Part II: 1936-1970," El Grito, Fall 1970, 18.

[3] Ibid., p. 19.

[4] Brischetto, Life Styles, p. 5.

[5] Anonymous, "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán," in Educating the Mexican American, ed. by H. S. Johnson and M. Hernandez (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1970), p. 22.

[6] Leo Lopez, Address to the Conference, Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking Youth. (Los Angeles: University of California Extension Service, UCLA, 1964), p. 24.

[7] Brischetto, Life Styles, p. 24.

[8] Ibid., p. 30.

[9] Nat Hentoff, Our Children are Dying (New York: The Viking Press, 1966).

[10] A. Bruce Gaarder, "Organization of the Bilingual School," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII, 2 (April 1967).

THE BICULTURAL MYTH AND THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

by

Horacio Ulibarrí*

We are Mexican Americans, all united under the sacred ideal of carnalismo. We know what our problems are and what some of the solutions could be. Thus, as Chicanos, I feel that we should steadfastly refuse to be placed as showpieces to tell the ignorant "intelligentia" what our culture is ("if you have one"), what our problems are, and what we would project as solutions (for them to consider).

We are guilty of perpetuating this crime on ourselves by forever lamenting our "second-class citizenship" and crying over the deal that the gringo is giving us. We are guilty of the crime by allowing ouselves to explain how beautiful our culture is and unashamedly begging the gringo to appreciate it. ¿Donde está el orgullo Mejicano, Hermanos, cuando nos dejamos soplar como una basura en la calle? We are guilty of the crime by allowing ourselves to hate; by not recognizing that carnalismo is not limited to brown skin.

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Through the conference I would like to pose a few thoughts for your consideration.

Facts:

1. We are minority group members and thereby limited in power.
2. Nobody is going to give us anything.
3. We have the knowledge base to realize our problems, to propose solutions, and to carry them out with or without the help of anybody else.

Actions:

1. Pidamosle nada a nadie.
2. Unamosnos todos bajo el abrigo del carnalismo sin distinción de color y exijamos nuestros derechos.
3. Let us force our knowledge and commitment to the solution of our problems upon the powers that be.
4. Let us do it in a totally selfless way.

Biculturalism--Myth or Fact

The impotence of the approaches to solving the educational problems of the Mexican American may be attributed to a flaw in the basic conceptual models that have been assumed. Historically, the stages in the education of the Mexican American can be traced more or less in this chronological order:

1. The era of racial psychology when the Indian, Negro, and Mexican Americans were considered racially inferior.

2. The era when language was singled out as being the all pervading problem.

3. The era when cultural differences could explain the slow educational progress of the Mexican American.

4. The era of the "culturally deprived."

5. The present stage of confusion when we are trying to correlate language differences, cultural differences, and poverty in attempting to solve the myriad of problems facing the Mexican Americans.

Each one of the eras can be characterized by the main thrust given to the education of the Mexican-American child. For example, the main thrust for the first era was nothing. (Leave him alone--he cannot be educated. He is Mexican American; physically, he is most suitable for stoop labor. "Educate a Spanish American and you lose a good sheepherder.") The second epoch was characterized by forcing the child not to speak Spanish and thereby making him feel inferior and ashamed of his language and cultural background. The third era was characterized by attempting to develop programs that would overcome the cultural values of the Mexican American and force him to acculturate into the Anglo-American culture. The fourth stage has been characterized by exposing the barrio child to concert music, operatic nonsense, and, in short, by "giving the child everything that his culturally deprived home cannot."

The last stage in which we now find ourselves is one of confusion. Basically, we Mexican Americans have discarded the first four stages as useless, if not downright harmful, to the Mexican-American child. Now we are foundering in the fifth stage--trying to find a launching pad. We have been able to start bilingual education--not as widespread as we would wish--but definitely it is here. Now we are attempting to introduce or fuse bicultural education into bilingual education and we are in trouble.

The difficulty is that there is no agreement among ourselves as to what biculturism is. In fact, there is no agreement among ourselves as to what the Mexican-American culture is. Behaviorally, we know that we do not fit well in the general milieu of the Anglo-American society. But neither do we fit well into the ongoing Mexican society south of the border. To save face we often allude to discrimination in the first case and proclaim our American citizenship in the second, implying the Anglo American should adjust his thinking to accepting the Mexican culture as part of the melting pot myth.

The truth is that most of us do not feel comfortable functioning fully in either culture. We are Mexican American, with a culture and language that is our own, forged from both cultures and thereby perhaps stronger than either one.

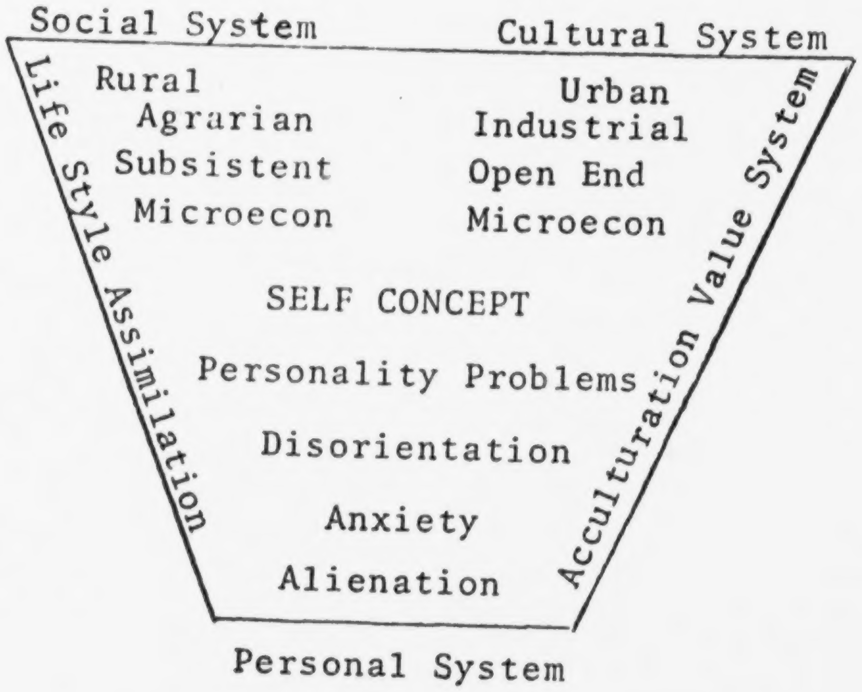
Intuitively, we have recognized this fact, and it is hard for any of us to delineate with certitude what should be the content of bicultural education. Thus, very often we delude our efforts by making the focus of bicultural education music, art, and literature, forgetting the core of the Mexican-American culture which is the family, the tenacity born out of poverty, the gaiety born out of boredom, the humor born out of misery. and the sagacity to cope with adversity born out of being a minority group member.

We cannot talk about culture in the ethereal or in a vacuum. Culture exists only in the expression of the personality of the individual. Only when we behavioralize culture in this manner can we hope to formulate strategies for "bicultural" education of our children. Personalities develop out of the interaction of the individual with his total environment. Thus culture becomes synonymous with patterns of coping behavior. The individual adheres to these patterns and finally crystalizes them into personal values that prove functional in his struggle for survival in his immediate environment. The struggle for survival extends from the physical, to the social into the egoistic. Just as he takes on the patterns that enhance his survival, he also discards those that threaten or deprive him of his survival. This is so, over and beyond any form of admonition by elders or verbalizations on the part of the individual. In short, actions belie words.

It is at this point that we should examine the meaning of biculturism and bicultural education. A culture is a way of life to which people adhere because over the years it has assured them survival. There are many differences in the survival needs of groups of people--some in kind, some in degree--and therefore, there are many differences in cultures or patterned coping behavior. As we compare values between one culture and another we find that we often have contradictions between them, for example, cooperation/competition, achievement/ascription. These contradications exist only because there are basic differences in the survival needs of the groups that promulgated them.

The survival needs of the individual arise out of his struggle with his environment. Perhaps the most basic survival need of the individual is the physical. Thus, how he feeds himself, clothes himself, and provides shelter for himself assume a greater importance in shaping the coping patterns of the individual than any other factor. This factor with its interwoven and interdependent patterns is the institution of economics.

This institution may be characterized as existing in a continuum from agrarian to industrial, and the immediate environment may be concluded also in a continuum from rural to urban. The survival needs and therefore the patterns of the coping behavior are different as the environment changes from rural to urban and from agrarian to industrial. Thus, life for the rural agrarian produces styles which are circumscribed by a value system different than that of the urban industrial. Personality needs and the self-concept also have a similar variance.


Social System
Cultural System
Rural
Agrarian
Subsistent
Microecon
Urban
Industrial
Open End
Microecon
SELF CONCEPT
Personality Problems
Disorientation
Anxiety
Alienation
Life Style Assimilation
Acculturation Value System
Personal System

It can be seen from this model that the so-called cultural differences can be explained in terms of the differences in the economic development of the bases of two cultures. A culture which is rural agrarian based, is going to have many contradictory values and behavioral patterns when compared to an urban industrial based culture. As the rural agrarian culture moves toward urbanization and industrialization, we find the differences diminishing except for a few historical "leftovers." Mexican cultures are to be found in all stages of the agrarian-industrial and rural-urban continuum. Thus, if we compare the rural agrarian cultures of Mexico with the urban industrial culture of the United States we find extreme differences; yet if we compare the urban industrial culture of Mexico City with the urban industrial culture of any city in the United States, we find minimal differences between the two. The same observation may be made in the case of the Mexican-American socioculture.

Another truism in sociocultural theory is that certain behavioral patterns are more essential to the survival of the individual in a particular environment than others. The most essential or salient patterns are therefore allowed little or no latitude for deviation, as opposed to the less crucial or nonsalient patterns which are allowed wide latitude. Thus in formulating the theoretical construct for bicultural education, one has to take into consideration the environment in which the individual lives. To attempt to teach an urban student cultural elements from a rural agrarian based culture may be, at best, giving him irrelevant subject matter or, at worst, injecting dysfunctional coping behavior. The individual needs to cope with his environment and to learn the behavioral patterns by which he can do so. This factor of salience has great implications to the amount and kind of "cultural heritage" that we can inject into the curriculum.

Education Needs of the Mexican American

The Mexican-American student in many ways is a special student and needs special types of programs if he is to be given equality of educational opportunity. The regular classroom program has not worked for the Mexican Americans. One only has to cite the high dropout rates and the low achievement levels prevalent among the Mexican American to illustrate the point.

Unfortunately, no intensive study has been made which pinpoints, with any amount of certitude, the cause-effect relationships of the failure of the schools by the Mexican Americans. There are strong indicators, however, that justify the need for a change of direction. Among these are:

1. The middle class bias of the curriculum and school environment.

2. Lack of sociocultural sensitivity on the part of the teachers.

3. The general thrust of the school program towards complete acculturation and assimilation, and the omission of any significant aspects of the Mexican-American culture in the curriculum.

4. The resulting negative self-concept engendered in the Mexican American by the schools, because of his cultural heritage and use of his maternal language.

5. The capricious tendency on the part of educators to employ motivational structures and teaching styles totally outside the context of the Mexican-American socioculture.

6. Lastly, the ceiling and constraints placed on the Mexican American by the larger society, limiting his opportunities to participate fully in the American social milieu and to climb the socioeconomic ladder even after fulfilling the prescribed training and educational requirements.

Problems in the Education of the Mexican American

The problems facing implementation of quality education for the Mexican American can be divided into three major categories: (1) the problems related to language, (2) problems related to socio-cultural adjustment, and (3) problems related to academic success--the lack of adequately trained personnel, both at the teaching and administrative levels, who understand the problems of the Mexican American and are able to develop and implement relevant programs.

Problems Relating to Language Background

Historically, educators have considered the Spanish language background of the Mexican American and his low functionality in English as the major obstacle in educating this large minority group.[1] The complex problems of educating the Mexican American who has been different in language and cultural background and generally suffering from economic deprivation were given a simplistic solution because of this warped analysis. The solution was "make the Mexican American functional in English and the problems of educating him will be solved." As a result, regulations against the use of the Spanish language by the Mexican-American student while on the school premises were instituted and rigorously enforced under threat of dire punishment.

When the linguistic techniques to teaching English as a second language, e.g., TESL, became popular and the Miami Linguistic Readers swept the countryside, everybody thought that the panacea had been found.[2] Much to everybody's disapapointment, five, six, eight years later, the dropout rates among the Mexican American have not decreased, nor the achievement levels risen.

With the establishment of bilingual education programs, it has been demonstrated that the impoverished social background of a large proportion of the Mexican-American students is more detrimental to their educational success than is their Spanish language background and their low functionality in English. Actually, many of these children have very meager language development in either English or Spanish by the time they enter school. The problem becomes one of helping them to develop language ability and not merely moving them from functionality in Spanish to functionality in English. Often it is assumed that because a child is Mexican American he comes from a Spanish-speaking home and his language strength is Spanish rather than English. All too often this is not the case.[3]

This is not to say that the total language problem of the Mexican American should be dismissed as inconsequential. Instead it must be emphatically recognized that language development is just as essential for the Mexican American as it is for Anglo children. The one difference is that for many of the Mexican-American children English is essentially a foreign language. Going along with what research has indicated. namely, that a person who has a sound base in his maternal language learns a second language better and faster than one who does not. Thus for the Mexican-American child, bilingual education seems to be a near necessity if he is to master English well; and for the English-speaking child, a second language is an enrichment. In either case bilingual education is desirable.

One of the major premises of bilingual education is that the beginning educational experiences of any child should be in the language in which he feels most comfortable. For the barrio Mexican-American child this would be barrio Spanish. From this point on, however, it must be emphasized that language development is of utmost importance of the life-space of the child is to be enlarged and his academic success insured. Because the barrio dialect is closely akin to Spanish, language development should begin in the Spanish language. As the child strengthens his functionality in Spanish, development in the English language should be initiated. For the preschool child this may be almost simultaneously. Knowledge of two languages mutually enhance and reinforce each other.

Problems Related to Sociocultural Adjustment

The Mexican American, once basically a rural people, has rapidly moved into the cities. It is estimated that at least 80 per cent of the Mexican-American population now resides in urban centers. Because of this rapid urbanization, the Mexican Americans brought with them to the cities, the life styles and value systems that were functional in the rural areas. Often these sociocultural patterns, instead of helping them adjust to the environs of the city, became dysfunctional in the urban center.

Lest there be some misunderstanding regarding the urban Mexican American, it must reiterated that cultures change very slowly, and it is nothing unusual to see groups of individuals persistently adhering to cultural patterns even after their functionality has ceased. The Mexican-American culture is rural agrarian based, and the Mexican American, as yet. has not transformed his behavior patterns totally into a typical urban industrial culture base. Thus, even if individual families have resided in urban centers for generations, many patterns of the rural agrarian setting still persist. To be sure, the range of differences in behavioral patterns and value systems is very wide in the rural agrarian, urban industrial continuum among the Mexican Americans living in any city. It all depends on the recency of immigration to the city from the farm.

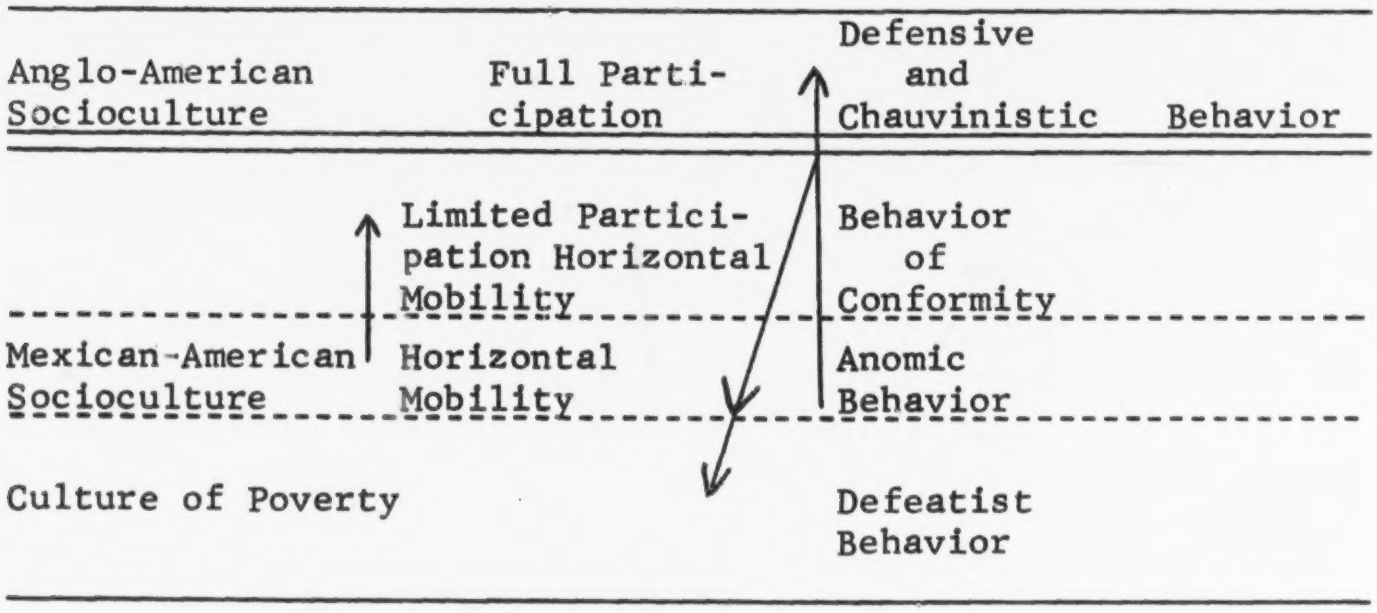
There are many adjustments to city living that the rural-urbanite has to make in his new life styles. Such things as the protection of the extended family, the personalistic relationships in the rural areas, the slower tempo of farm life, and the personal commitment to work, are missed by the Mexican American in the city. In contrast, the disconcerting fact that the family is alone amongst strangers, the totally impersonal relationships in the city, the dizziness of a fast urban tempo, and the idea that the man is only an extension of the machine, bring about disorientation and possibly cultural shock to the new arrival and alienation to many young residents of the city.

Adjustments at the microeconomic level are not as visible since they pertain to the private life of the individual and the family. Traditionally, the Mexican American has existed at a level of living commensurate with his resources at hand. Often this created a circular orientation where the individual adjusted his living to the resources at his disposal, and then, worked only to the extent of obtaining the resources necessary to his preferred level of living, even if there were possibilities of earning more and thereby raising that level of living. In the city where an open-end consumption pattern exists (the typical American usually spends well beyond his income), the

Mexican American becomes the victim of high pressure salesmanship, gaudy advertising, and "easy" time payments.

The dysfunction of the rural life styles that the Mexican American brings into the urban setting is very apparent in the sector of an industrialized job market. The typical Mexican American moves into the city with few salable skills that are in demand. Thus quite often, the Mexican American is destined to poor paying jobs; being the last to be hired and the first to be fired. This factor alone ensures the economic fact that Mexican Americans are forced to live in the poorest section of the city which, because of the slum or near-slum conditions of the areas, have another set of downward spiraling consequences in the rearing and education of the children.

The barrios, often romanticized as a city within a city, as a socioculture within the socioculture, often are nothing more than slums for Mexican Americans who has succumbed to the culture of poverty.[4] To be sure, there are some barrios populated by earnest, hard-working people who have kept their pride in their sociocultural heritage and are striving Americans. More often, however, the barrio is a hole with filthy unpaved streets where drug addiction, prostitution, and alcoholism exist and/or abound. Here the downtrodden, helpless victims of our society are found. Those who have found the outside gate of the barrio through education and vocational success have already moved out into the more affluent suburbs of the city. Education alone, or the promise of education, is not sufficient to get the Mexican American out of the barrio. Through harsh experience, the Mexican American has found himself to be a threat in the labor market, a victim of exploitation, and, in short, a second-class citizen. He is a member of a minority group.[5]



Anglo-American Socioculture	Full Participation	Defensive and Chauvinistic Behavior
	Limited Participation Horizontal Mobility	Behavior of Conformity
Mexican-American Socioculture	Horizontal Mobility	Anomic Behavior
Culture of Poverty		Defeatist Behavior

The impact of this realization that, as minority group members regardless of educational attainment or personal qualifications, the Mexican American is still destined to be treated as a second-class citizen, has made him recalcitrant to accept acculturation and amalgamation into the Anglo-American culture as his final destiny. Rather, the Mexican American is reacting with a strong overassertion of his Mexicanness and a strong proclamation of his cultural heritage. The movement or "la causa" is nothing more than the assertion on the part of the Mexican American to determine his own destiny. The general foci of the Chicano Movement are: (1) quality education, (2) economic amelioration, (3) political power, and (4) cultural pluralism.

These crosscurrents of ethnocentrism and insidious racism produce feeling of confusion and anxiety on the part of the Mexican-American student. The unresponsive traditional curriculum ultimately alienates him from school, and he finally drops out. Succinctly then, the need is to develop programs that will create feelings of self-worth and self-confidence in the child and a curriculum that helps fill the void of rejection as a minority group member both for the children and the parents. This means the development of programs that enhance cultural plurality, and which will foster feelings of mutual understanding and respect among members of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

Problems Relating to Academic Success

As a result of the unresolved problems discussed above, the Mexican American, in effect, becomes an educationally retarded student and a slow learner. Because of lack of functionality in the language of the school, the Mexican American must wait to start the process of concept development until he masters enough English to do so. The problem becomes aggravated when no remedial instruction is provided, and the typical teacher makes the same demands on him as she does on other students in the group who have not suffered the handicap of having to learn English before starting on the road to concept development. With all the negative factors operating, the Mexican American, very early in his school career, becomes a psychological dropout and is only waiting for the opportune time to effect his desires.

Besides being behind in regular course work, the Mexican-American child experiences a tremendous amount of culture conflict in his relations with the teacher. The typical teacher is task oriented and develops a social reward system based on achievement.[6] The child is ascription and personalistic oriented and fails to understand a reward system based on achievement. He perceives the teacher as being cold and unfriendly and feels no compunction to do school work for that person; he becomes disinterested in his work at school. He estranges himself from the classroom and seeks refuge in athletics, in nonacademic clubs, in girls, or in gangs. He sees the subject matter as being totally irrelevant to his daily problems and inapplicable to his daily tasks.[7]

The results have been rather devastating. For example, the Dallas Independent School District dropout rate for the Mexican American is projected at 78.9 per cent between the beginning of fifth grade and the end of high school. Of the 20 per cent that do graduate, the underachievement is frightening. It is estimated that over half the Mexican Americans that finish the twelfth grade in the state of Texas have an equivalency achievement level of a ninth grade education.

Median Years of School Completed by Spanish-Surname Persons Compared with Other Population Groups, Various Age Classes, Five Southwest States 1960 (Males and Females Combined) (9)

State and Age Group	Anglo	Spanish-Surname	Nonwhite
Southwest			
14 years and over	12.0	8.1	9.7
14-24	11.3	9.2	10.6
25 and over	12.1	7.1	9.0
Arizona			
14 years and over	12.0	8.0	7.7
14-24	11.1	8.9	8.5
25 and over	12.1	7.0	7.0
California			
14 years and over	12.1	9.0	10.8
14-24	11.4	10.2	11.3
25 and over	12.2	8.6	10.6
Colorado			
14 years and over	12.1	8.6	11.2
14-24	11.5	9.6	11.1
25 and over	12.2	8.2	11.2

New Mexico			
14 years and over	12.1	8.3	7.9
14-24	11.2	9.5	8.7
25 and over	12.2	7.4	7.1
Texas			
14 years and over	11.4	6.2	8.7
14-24	11.1	8.1	10.2
25 and over	11.5	4.8	8.1

Case Study: Special Programs at the DISD

In light of the brief analysis made regarding the educational needs of the Mexican American, it becomes apparent that a change in direction is imperative. Change in direction does not mean aborting all of the old. Rather, it means taking a look at the Mexican-American student as an individual and prescribing programs that are responsive to his needs. Perhaps the problems in educating the Mexican American have been created by the educators themselves who do not understand fully the sociocultural background and the educational needs of the Mexican American, and who have been prescribing him the wrong kind of programs.

Goals and Objectives

The following goals and objectives are proposed as guidelines for the development of educational programs for the Mexican-American students.

I. To help the student develop a positive self-concept. The student who will have participated in the program will:

A. have developed self-awareness as regards:
   1. the physical characteristic of his body
   2. his status and role in the family
   3. his status and role in society
   4. similarities and differences in relation to other individuals and groups
   5. his intellectual, social, and vocational potentials and limitations

B. have developed self-confidence and this self-assurance will be expressed:
   1. by willing participation in class activities
   2. by assuming leadership roles with peers as well as being a contributing member of a team
   3. by being competitive and aggressive in a socially acceptable manner
   4. by pursuing actions leading to the fulfillment of his potentials
   5. by assuming responsibility for his own actions
   6. by sharing with others his own unique contributions.

C. have developed wholesome and responsible human relations and these will be expressed:

1. by his attitude of sharing
2. by facilitating peer relationship by warm and friendly approaches to individual and group interaction
3. by being aware of the impact of his actions on others
4. by trying to understand and showing respect for others.

D. have developed a sense of sociocultural identification.

The student who will have participated in the program will:

1. know the contributions made to society by the Mexican-American and Anglo-American forefathers
2. appreciate literature, music, and art of both Anglo and Hispanic origin
3. understand some aspects of culture conflict and be able to resolve them in his daily tasks
4. ascribe worth and dignity to the individual for what he is but will also appreciate individual achievement.

5. appreciate fully the present but will be able to state future goals and work towards them.

II. To help the student become functional in an urban environment. The student who will have participated in the program will:

A. practice safety at home, school, and the street

B. know and appreciate the community

C. know about, and use, facilities available such as recreational, etc.

D. have developed salable skills or be planning to pursue higher levels of training and/or education.

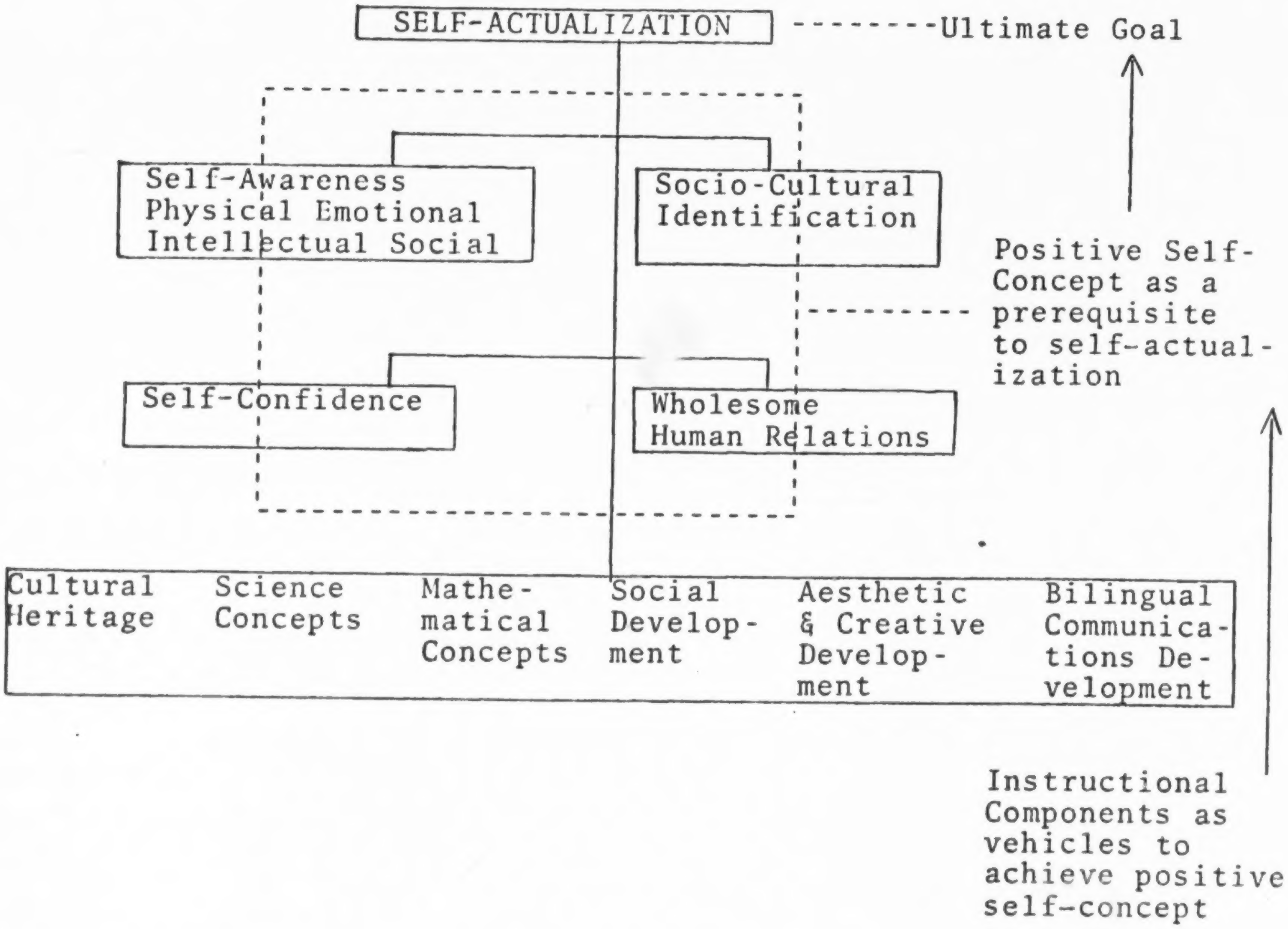
III. To promote functionality in two languages--English and Spanish. The student who will have participated in the program will:

A. be able to understand and communicate in their daily tasks with equal facility in both English and Spanish

B. be able to learn and communicate scientific, social, and cultural concepts in both English and Spanish

C. value bilingualism by using whichever language is appropriate for the occasion regardless of his maternal language.

IV. To enhance concept development commensurate to the students' abilities. The concept to be learned are typical to mathematics, science, and social studies as well as literature, art, and music. These do not differ from the regular program except that they may be taught bilingually.


SELF-ACTUALIZATION
--------Ultimate Goal
Self-Awareness
Physical Emotional
Intellectual Social
Socio-Cultural
Identification
Positive Self-Concept as a prerequisite to self-actualization
Self-Confidence
Wholesome
Human Relations
Cultural Heritage
Science Concepts
Mathematical Concepts
Social Development
Aesthetic & Creative Development
Bilingual Communications Development
Instructional Components as vehicles to achieve positive self-concept

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to place in perspective the concept of biculturalism as it relates to the past, present and future of Mexican-American education. The history of this nation gives testimony to the conscious and systematic destruction of the cultural heritage that the Mexican-American student has attempted to carry with him through the educational process. In the public schools the Mexican-American culture was conceptualized by the Anglo-American society as being the root cause of the educational problems of the Mexican-American student. The task of the schools, therefore, was not the preservation and enhancement of biculturalism; the task of the schools was to crush biculturalism.

Today, the idea of bicultural education has achieved acceptability, although on a limited scale. Even though the _idea_ of bicultural education has finally been acknowledged as an important contributor to the cultural and socioeconomic development of the Mexican American, the _reality_ of biculturalism is still surrounded by confusion and indecision. Agreement on the content and form of biculturalism has become a significant educational problem.

The problem is compounded by the fact that our Mexican-American culture is in a period of transition from an historical rural agrarian to a modern urban industrial setting. Our culture is represented neither by the ongoing Mexican society nor the Anglo-American society. In short, our cultural development is unique--forged from two distinct cultures and thereby perhaps stronger than either one.

In conjunction with the transition being made in the Mexican-American society, a transition must also be made in the socioculture which we transmit to our youth in schools. To attempt to teach an urban student cultural elements from a rural agrarian-based culture may be, at best, giving him irrelevant subject matter, or, at worst, injecting dysfunctional coping behavior. The individual needs to cope with his environment and to learn the behavioral patterns by which he can do so. This factor of salience has great implications for the amoung and kind of "cultural heritage" that we can inject into the curriculum.

In the future, the definition of biculturalism must carry with it an understanding that the dynamic and relevant aspects of Mexican-American culture are being transmitted whereas the dysfunctional baggage relevant only to a previous era is being left behind. The educational change required means taking a close look at the Mexican-American student as an individual and prescribing programs that are responsive to his needs. These new programs must include goals which, (1) help the student develop a positive self-concept, (2) help the student become functional in an urban environment, (3) promote functionality in English and Spanish, and (4) enhance concept development commensurate with the students' abilities.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Lloyd Tireman, Teaching the Spanish-Speaking Child (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951). Also see Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest--Their Education and Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965).

[2] Ronald Wardhaugh, Reading: A Linguistic Perspective (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1969), p. 135

[3] Horacio Ulibarrí, director, "Bilingual Education Research Project: Final Report" (Albuquerque: College of Education University).

[4] Stan Steiner, La Raza, the Mexican American (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 140-160.

[5] Horacio Ulibarrí, "Bilingualism" in The Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, ed. by Emma Birkmaier (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1969), pp. 240-258.

[6] Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 9, 287-298.

[7] Ignacio Cordova, "The Relationship of Acculturation, Alienation, and Achievement Among Spanish-American Sixth Grade Students," unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1968).

REVISING THE "ALL-AMERICAN SOUL COURSE": A BICULTURAL AVENUE TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM

by

Carlos E. Cortés*

The recent emergence of ethnic studies programs has added a new term to our national educational lexicon--"soul course." Members of an ethnic group often use this term to identify a course about their group which, in addition to its substantive content, also contains emotional or spiritual overtones supposedly lacking in most "soul-less" academic courses. But when "outsiders" use the term, they often do so derisively, implying that such soul courses lack the so-called objectivity traditionally deified in American education.

Such criticism is specious to the core. Although ethnic studies courses may contain a heavy dose of soul, this is not educationally unique in America. I would content that most courses dealing with United States history, U.S. government, U.S. culture, U.S. society, and U.S. literature fall within the soul course category. In fact, the entire U.S. educational system can be classified as a continuous, compulsory all-American soul course. By creating patriotism, by inculcating a so-called "American way of life," and by nurturing love of country, U.S. education is actually building national "soul."

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Unfortunately, the all-American soul course really has always been an all-American white Anglo soul course. While striving to create pride and patriotism, the educational system has reinforced white Anglo enthnocentrism. Implicitly, and too often explicitly, education has indoctrinated young Americans into a reflex belief in white Anglo superiority over other groups composing our nation. In doing so, it has relegated these "out groups"--particularly Chicanos, Blacks, Indians, and Puerto Ricans--to a condition of perceived inferiority. Therefore, where the all-American soul course has fostered patriotism and national pride, it also has fostered ethnic prejudice.

In this paper I will not deal with the philosophical issue of whether or not national soul building should be a basic educational function. Rather, I wish to challenge the traditional direction and process of the all-American soul course, with its inherently negative ramifications for U.S. society. In particular, I will illustrate education's traditional reinforcement of and failure to combat anti-Mexican-American prejudice, and I will suggest some bicultural reforms for making the educational system a more positive force for reducing ethnic prejudice and creating better inter-ethnic understanding.

The Black Legend

To comprehend the need for bicultural reform of the U.S. educational system, we must take a hard look not only at education as it operates, but also at the society in which it functions. For in both historical and contemporary terms, U.S. society has been pervaded subtly and sometimes not too subtly by anti-Mexican prejudice.

The roots of this prejudice stretch back over the centuries to the European power struggle for New World domination. Since Spain had arrived first and had claimed most of the New World, she became the prime target for other European contenders. Through her own vigorous internal debate over the treatment of Indians, Spain unwittingly furnished her antagonists with fuel for their propaganda machines.[1] Using Spanish cruelty toward Indians as the base and blending in other anti-Spanish themes, these contending nations propagated a collection of anti-Spanish stereotypes which became known as the Black Legend.[2]

English colonists carried this tradition of anti-Hispanism to the New World. Here their constant conflict with Spaniar[illegible] and residents of Spanish possessions reinforced anti-Spanish attitudes. By the time the United States became an independent nation, the anti-Spanish legacy had become an intrinsic, if sometimes unrecognized or unadmitted, part of the national psyche. New World events added another dimension to English and Anglo-American antagonism toward things Hispanic in origin. It was bad enough that Spaniards had mistreated the Indians; but heaven forbid, they also had slept with them. And, even worse, Spanish-Indian cohabitation had given birth to a whole new human category--the mestizo.

If any kind of prejudice was more deeply rooted in the Anglo mentality than anti-Hispanism, it was a feeling of superiority over non-whites.[3] Moreover, any clear-thinking Englishman or Anglo American could conclude, as easily as one and one equals two, that if you combined one degenerate Spaniard and one heathen savage, the offspring--a mestizo--would inherit the worst aspects of both.[4] And as an aggressive, independent United States expanded westward during the early nineteenth century, it found this Mexican mestizo in its way.

Anglo Americans of that era scorned the Mexican mestizo. Texas Revolution and Mexican War propaganda emotionally supercharged the already existent anti-Mexican attitudes. In his study, With the Ears of Strangers, Cecil Robinson explores in depth Anglo-American perceptions of Mexico and Mexicans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Robinson cites such examples of anti-Mexican prose as nineteenth-century travelers' accounts and the dime novel, a popular nineteenth-century literary form which commonly used the theme of the triumph of the good Anglo-American cowboy over the degenerate Mexican mestizo. As Robinson explains:

> In the attitudes expressed, this pulp literature reveals more openly than most records of the time the naïve and cocky sense of superiority with which young America regarded itself. The 'greaser' provides a most apt foil for the projection of such an inflated self-image, and the dime novels are full of incidents in which Saxon intelligence, strength, and purity of motive triumph over the guile and treachery of the degenerate 'yellow belly.'[5]

In other words, Anglo Americans updated the classical anti-Spanish Black Legend into a Modern Black Legend: anti-mestizo, anti-Mexican, and ultimately anti-Chicano. And although the dime novel's blatant racism has given way to a more subtle brand of ethnic prejudice, the Modern Black Legend lives on. The destruction of the legend is today one of American education's greatest challenges.

The Modern Black Legend

What exactly is the Modern Black Legend? I define it as a negative attitude toward, stereotype of, or prejudice against the Mexican American created by the steady bombardment of the American mind by anti-Mexican sensory impulses, made more effective by the absence of any significant institutionalized defense or counterattack against these impulses. In short, from the time he is born, an American is bombarded by anti-Mexican impulses, including those spread by the mass media. This is not the place to catalogue all types of perpetrators of anti-Mexican prejudice. However, in order to indicate the enormity of the task facing U.S. education in the eradication of prejudice and stereotypes, I will describe a few examples of such societal prejudice creators--advertising, comic strips, and motion pictures.

Frito Bandito and his serape-clad, sombrero-wearing, mañana-saying Mexican brothers in the U.S. advertising menagerie leap to mind as obvious perpetrators of anti-Mexican stereotypes. In his article, "Advertising and Racism," in the Summer, 1969, issue of El Grito, sociologist Thomas Martínez states that "advertising, at least in the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, is an exercise in reaffirming the superior social status of one group . . . and the inferior status of another. Advertising, then, functions as a tool of racist elites."[6] According to Martínez, therefore, U.S. racist elites have formed a kind of conspiracy to create an anti-Mexican stereotype to help "keep him in his place" at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. Whether or not one agrees with Martínez' "conspiracy theory of advertising," unquestionably he is correct in asserting that advertising has done its part to reinforce anti-Mexican stereotypes and maintain ethnic prejudice. But the advertising industry has plenty of often unconscious allies in the promotion of prejudice.

Take commic strips. Most Americans have read "Gordo," the living Mexican stereotype. In one January, 1970, Sunday strip, Gordo is making his New Year's resolutions:

> I'm going to be better organized this year, more businesslike, more cooperative, flexible, less bigoted, answer my mail, promptly pay my bills, notify elected officials when I disagree with government policies, fight graft, greed, pollution, injustice, work harder to conserve natural resources, go to bed and get up earlier, drink less, eat sensibly, exercise regularly. I swear to myself to start doing all these things right--after siesta.[7]

Most readers, while chuckling at the strip, also probably accepted it as a reasonably accurate reflection, albeit humorous, of social reality and failed to recognize its stereotype-building quality. After all, Gordo blends perfectly with the many other anti-Mexican impulses penetrating the American mind, thereby reinforcing Anglo feelings of superiority.

And how about movies? Whether intentionally, uncaringly, or unwittingly, the movie industry has produced a long series of prejudice-building movies. Take one recent genre, which I term the "my-bad-guy-is-better-than-yours" movie. Let me cite a few landmarks in the development of this genre. Some ten years ago a very popular movie, "The Magnificent Seven," revolved around the dilemma of seven unemployed Anglo-American outlaws whose careers had become effectively restricted by U.S. law and order. Hired by a Mexican village to come down and protect it against a gang of dozens of Mexican outlaws, these seven Anglos demonstrated their six-gun proficiency (and obvious ethnic superiority) by wiping out the entire Mexican band with the loss of only four of their own men. Recognizing that they had stacked the odds in favor of the Anglo outlaws, movie makers tried to equalize the game in the next film of this genre--"The Professionals." However, although the Anglo outlaws were reduced to four and the Mexicans expanded into a large paramilitary force, once again the Anglos emerged victorious, this time without losing a single man. But in 1969 movie makers finally came up with an equitable formula in the movie, "The Wild Bunch." This time four Anglo outlaws were pitted against a full Mexican army. And who won? Well, it was a draw. The four Anglo outlaws were killed but not before they had wiped out the entire Mexican army. Anglo superiority had been reasserted, even at the bad-guy-to-bad-guy level.

Education: Toward Knowledge or Prejudice?

Thus far we have discussed only part of my definition of the Modern Black Legend--"the steady bombardment of the American mind by anti-Mexican sensory impulses." Let us now look at another aspect--"the absence of any significant institutionalized defense or counterattack against these impulses."

Obviously, the U.S. educational system should be--in fact always should have been--at the forefront of the institutionalized counterattack against prejudice and stereotyping. But quite the contrary, as I stated earlier, rather than being at the forefront of the counterattack, U.S. education has been a major force for prejudice building through its role as the all-American Anglo soul course.

For example, take the teaching of U.S. history. My content analysis of a dozen popular U.S. history textbooks commonly used in California secondary schools revealed little in these texts which would specifically contribute to the pride of the young Chicano, but much that could assault his ego and reinforce the concept of Anglo superiority. To underscore this. let us look briefly at the defeatist image of the Mexican American created by these books.

Little is said of the Mexican American's Indian heritage. except for an occasional line or so on Aztec and Mayan civilization. The long, rich history of the Mexican Indians--including their many scientific. educational. and artistic accomplishments--remains missing from these books. The major impression left of the pre-Columbian Indians is one of defeat at the hands of the Spanish conqueror.

Then what about the conqueror? Usually these books contain a few more lines about Spain. but these too are suffused with negativism. The student gets no sense of Spain's brilliant culture or contributions to world civilization. but merely receives the Black Legend treatment of Spaniards as oppressors of the New World Indians. However, when faced with an English rival. the Spaniard, too, turns out a loser. Most U.S. history textbooks revel in England's victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588. Nothing, however, can compare to the widely used text, Rise of the American Nation, by Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti. Not content with merely including the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Todd and Curti disdain chronology in favor of an immediate non-chronological assertion of Anglo superiority by beginning their textbook with two pages dedicated to this English triumph.[8] History courses which use this book waste no time rubbing the Mexican-American child's nose in defeat from the first day of class.

Independent Mexico receives somewhat more attention than Spain or pre-Columbian Mexico, but the emphasis on defeat reamins. Mexico seldom appears in U.S. history texts except when being defeated by the U.S. By selecting Anglo victories over Mexico as the principal means of portraying the latter, textbook authors further reinforce feelings of Anglo superiority and Chicano inferiority. I do not imply that all U.S. history textbook writers intentionally try to present a picture of Mexican inferiority. However, such has been the result.

Textbook writers generally have a field day with the 1835-1836 war for Texas independence. Few can resist applying such epithets as "massacre" or "slaughter" to the Mexican victories at Goliad or the Alamo, but the ensuing Texan victory at San Jacinto--which included the mass killing of unarmed surrendering Mexican soldiers--somehow emerges as a glorious triumph.[9] Such semantic juggling of emotion-laden terms provides an educational complement to the efforts of Frito Bandito and Gordo.

The Texas war for independence is quickly followed by a discussion of the Mexican War, another Anglo victory over

Mexicans. Here students are also denied access to those heroes who fought and died on the Mexican side. Anyone in the least familiar with Mexican history knows of the niños héroes (boy heroes), those twelve-to-fifteen-year-old military school cadets who reportedly wrapped themselves in a Mexican flag and leaped to their death from the parapets of Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City rather than permit the flag to be captured by attacking U.S. troops. Yet these young Mexican heroes have not won general admission into U.S. history textbooks. And, to add a further note of cultural insensitivity, the first line of the U.S. Marine Corps hymn--"From the halls of Montezuma"--crassly celebrates this American victory over the Mexican schoolboys. This ethnically degrading line is as infuriating to the informed Chicano as an Air Force hymn would be to a Japanese American if it began with the line. "From the skies over Hiroshima."

U.S. history textbooks briefly mention the Mexican Revolution. But here again the occasion often is used to reassert Anglo superiority. For example, in discussing Woodrow Wilson's sending of U.S. troops to occupy Vera Cruz in 1914, Todd and Curti present an Anglo ethnocentric defense of Wilson's actions by writing:

> President Woodrow Wilson had tried, and tried sincerely, to respect the independence and freedom of the Mexican people. In the end, however, he had to use force to maintain law and order and respect for the United States.[10]

Had to use force? Clearly such historians' reassertions of Anglo superiority further chip away at the pride of the Chicano youngster.

And what about Land of the Free, that "radical" U.S. history text vilified in many circles for its supposed subversion of traditional American values and way of life? For all of its progressivism in other areas, Land of the Free goes little beyond more standard history texts in its treatment of the Mexican American. Three paragraphs on Spanish-speaking Americans, including one on Latin American baseball players, and two paragraphs on Mexican Americans comprise this "subversive" textbook's commitment to the Mexican American. And although the authors state that Mexican Americans do suffer discrimination, they temper this disclosure with the absurd assertion:

> That was not true everywhere. There were exceptions, such as San Antonio, Texas, where Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans lived on terms of near equality.[11]

If my portrayal of U.S. history textbooks seems a bit dismal, it would be no better for civics texts, U.S. social studies texts, or American literature texts. Leaf through any

American literature anthology and count the number of selections by Mexican Americans. If you like to count on your fingers, one hand will do. Probably none. (Ironically, the Mexican American suffers from tokenism even in exposés of textbook treatment of minorities.[12] For example, in the most recent study, Michael Kane's 148-page Minorities in Textbooks. A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies Texts, Mexican Americans receive one page as part of a six-page section on "Spanish-Speaking Peoples.")

Quite simply, while the U.S. educational system has done a bang-up job of creating an all-American Anglo soul, in doing so it has reinforced a sense of Anglo superiority and degraded the image of Mexican Americans and certain other ethnic minorities. It is time to blow the whistle on this nonsense. Obviously, American society, including the various stereotyping elements of the mass media, will not change overnight. But we must insist that U.S. education put itself through a moral and ethical catharsis, cleansing itself of prejudice-building educational traditionalism by bathing in the restorative waters of Mexican-American biculturalism.

Bicultural Reform

The educational counterattack against prejudice must begin now. I would like to suggest four bicultural avenues of attack, without implying that these exhaust the possible educational battle plans for combatting ingrained societal prejudice: (1) critical bicultural analysis of textbooks, (2) selection of bicultural materials for course balance, (3) development of bicultural materials through the use of community resources, and (4) adoption of a new concept, a Greater America.

First, every teacher must become semi-paranoid in the use of textbooks. We cannot expect young students to have the knowledge or critical facility to analyze fully or erect effective defenses against the almost inevitable prejudice building in textbooks on U.S. society, history, or culture. I would not be surprised if every such textbook, whether consciously or unconsciously, included elements which contribute to the reinforcement of anti-Chicano prejudice by reaffirming Anglo superiority, by neglecting the role of the Mexican American, or by failing to analyze critically the discrimination and oppression suffered by Americans of Mexican descent. Teachers must filter these textbooks by presenting them to their students in proper perspective and by discovering and indicating each book's prejudice-producing deficiencies. More importantly, they should teach students to examine these textbooks critically and prepare students to identify and analyze the prejudice-building elements of our society. In other words, the sensitive teacher who is committed to the bicultural reforming of the all-American soul course not only must contend with the continuous pervasive influences of external society, but also must grapple with the deficient text materials currently afflicting American education.

However, the teacher must do more than filter the pernicious impact of existing textbooks. He must also follow a second avenue of bicultural reform--the selection of bicultural materials. Although published Chicano materials do not exist in abundance, teachers should make innovative use of those we have. Teachers of American literature can complement their reading of Longfellow, Poe, Whitman, and Frost with the poetry of Alurista, Sergio Elizondo, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. The study of twentieth-century American prose can be enriched by short stories of J.L. Navarro, essays by Eliu Carranza, or for that matter the prose poetry of the "Plan of Delano" or "Plan Espiritual de Aztlán." And in selecting novels for literature class, why not include Chicano novels like José Antonio Villareal's Pocho or translated Mexican works like Mariano Azuela's The Underdogs? And any teacher of American history who does not read and use Carey McWilliams' artistic North from Mexico and Rudolph Acuña's recent texts on Mexican-American history is indeed neglecting his bicultural obligations.

But the teacher must push beyond the selection of published Chicano materials to a third avenue of bicultural counter-attack--development of his own Chicano materials. Here in the Southwest such potential materials are all around us, including that richest resource of all, the Mexican-American people. Communities make ideal supplementary sources for the teacher with the commitment to a bicultural approach and the dedication to expanding the classroom beyond four walls. For example, in my Chicano history class at the University of California, Riverside, each student writes the biography of a Mexican-American family, often his own. The assignment provides some Anglos with their first personal contact with Mexican-American life. Anglos often indicate that these interview experiences--the hearing of history as viewed, recalled, and repeated by Mexican Americans--provide a new outlook on the American past. For Chicano students, the assignment has a double payoff. Not only does it help them discover a sense of historicity based on their own families' past, but it also contributes to family pride. Many of my Chicano students report a family metamorphosis during these long research conversations with their parents and other relatives. At first these probes into the past sometimes meet with disdain and disbelief, even distrust. But as conversations continue, parents usually develop a sense of participation as they begin to realize that they are a meaningful part of history, a part worth being recorded. Every Chicano--with his perceptions of the surrounding community and his memories of the past--can be a valuable bicultural source.[13]

Moreover, in addition to conducting interviews, eager students can explore their local communities to gather information on Chicano society, culture, and history. Newspapers, city council and school board minutes, and records of such organizations as local clubs, churches, Mexican-American Chambers of Commerce, benevolent societies, and community settlement houses are all potential sources of bicultural materials. In fact, the entire community can become a bicultural tool for revising traditional educational practices.

Greater America Concept

But we must go at least once step further in our counterattack. While the defense against textbooks is a holding action and the search for published and community supplementary materials provides a flanking movement, they cannot substitute for a frontal attack on the all-American soul course. To launch such an assault, we must directly challenge the traditionally narrow concept of what makes up the United States of America and thereby expand educational vistas to create a new vision of a Greater America. Let me illustrate what I mean by this Greater America concept for U.S. education.

For too many years Americans have been taught that the United States is an Anglo product that began on the east coast and flowed west--conquering, destroying, isolating, absorbing, and improving those societies in its way. At best, most U.S. histories give only token recognition to the fact that some explorers and settlers came north from Mexico and that Mexicans were living in the Southwest when the U.S. invaded the area in 1846. Little substantive attention is paid to the northward flow of culture and society from central Mexico or its impact on the pre-1846 American Southwest.

For students to understand the Greater America in all of its cultural and ethnic dimensions, we must make the study of the Mexican heritage of the U.S. an intrinsic part of our entire educational process, beginning with the first year of school. This does not mean just reading about so-called "Spanish California" in the fourth grade, or having a unit on Mexico as a foreign culture in the sixth grade, or setting up a couple of high school classes in Mexican-American Studies. These may be steps in the right direction, but they can only be termed tokenism if the rest of the educational process remains ethnocentrically Anglo and imprisoned by an east-to-west bias.

It is not enough for fourth graders to study the Indo-Hispanic Southwest if they find in succeeding U.S. history classes that Mexicans and Chicanos are not important enough to be included in the general study of our nation's past. It is not enough to study Mexico as just another foreign culture when in fact the history of the American Southwest was really a history of Mexico (as well as Indian America) until 1846. It is not enough for a handful of students to gather one hour a day in Chicano Studies class only to find that this knowledge has yet to be incorporated into the next hour's class on American literature, social studies, or history.

The idea of studying the American past on a two-directional base has had its classical champions, particularly the great American historian, Herbert Eugene Bolton.[14] But today we need a modernized, dynamic, Chicano-inspired, neo-Boltonian biculturalism as a basis for a new Greater America concept.[15] Let us reject the idea of education as a tool for "melting" other cultures and pouring them into the Anglo "pot." Instead, let us reorient education on the basis that the Greater American heritage rests on the dual advance of society from the Atlantic coast west and from Mexico City north. Our educational system must include from grade one the continuous, parallel study of

Anglo and Mexican cultural and societal patterns, their contributions, their conflict, and the process or failure of fusion or coexistence. American education must cease paying lip service to and begin operating on the reality of this dual heritage (and, I might add, the aspects of our national heritage derived from other ethnic sources).

I would like to end with a few examples of how this bicultural approach might operate. It is absurd to stand in California and talk about George Washington as the father of independence of this land from European domination. George Washington was the father of his country, but his country at that time consisted of an eastern seaboard with a barely explored hinterland. The great Southwest, then part of New Spain, had its own father of independence--Padre Miguel Hidalgo, who in 1810 led the first Mexican revolution against Spain. I do not mean to imply that westerners should reject George Washington in favor of Padre Hidalgo. Rather we should emphasize the true dual independence heritage of the territory that is now the United States of America by including Padre Hidalgo in our pantheon of independence heroes alongside Washington.

And while studying Paul Revere's ride, why not also learn about the even longer ride of Ignacio Allende to warn Padre Hidalgo that the Spanish had discovered the existence of the independence plot? Both should be considered an intrinsic part of our heritage, since both rode for the independence of current-day U.S. territory from European domination. We could study Juan de Oñate, Juan Bautista de Anza, and Padre Eusebio Kino along with the English settlers of the Atlantic colonies. We could study the various Indian civilizations and compare their relations with expanding U.S. society from the east and expanding Mexican society from the south. We could study the types of economies that developed in the western and eastern sections of our country and compare the various concepts of law, land, and water rights which became implanted. The list of topics for comparative treatment could go on nearly indefinitely.

A continuous comparative study of political systems, societies, cultures, class structures, literatures, and, for that matter, ethnic relations of the U.S. and Mexico could provide a rich educational experience for Chicano and Anglo students alike. It would finally place in proper perspective the bicultural heritage and multi-ethnic reality of the United States. Most important, such a bicultural approach, by purging American education of its prejudice-producing ethnocentrism, would help transform the all-American Anglo soul course into a Greater American soul course. The day that all Americans can view George Washington and Padre Hidalgo as the joint fathers of American independence, we will be much closer to becoming "one nation, . . . with liberty and justice for all."

FOOTNOTES

[1] A discussion of this Spanish internal debate can be found in Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians. A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1959) and idem, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949). For an examination of what Pierre Chaunu refers to as "the polemical arsenal of imperialisms hostile to the Spanish Empire" see his "Las Casas et la première crise structurelle de la colonisation Espagnole (1515-1523)," Revue Historique, CCXXIX (January-March, 1963), 59-102.

[2] The term Black Legend was originated by Julián Juderías y Loyot in his work, La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica. Contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia religiosa y política en los países civilizados (Madrid, 1914). However, as in the case of the soul course, the Black Legend reality antedated by centuries the coining of the term. Relations between Spain and the Italian peninsula had generated among fourteenth-century Italians a wave of anti-Spanish criticism, which spread in the sixteenth century to northern Europe due principally to the conduct of Spanish soldiers throughout the continent. For a history of the development of such criticism see Sverker Arnoldsson, La leyenda negra. Estudios sobre sus orígenes (Göteborg, 1960). Charles Gibson, ed., The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971) provides a collection of sixteenth through twentieth century Black Legend writings. An examination of the accuracy or inaccuracy of such criticisms can be found in Benjamin Keen, "The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities," Hispanic American Historical Review, XLIX (November, 1969), 709-12, while Lewis Hanke responds to Keen with "A Modest Proposal for a Moratorium on Grand Generalizations: Some Thoughts on the Black Legend," Hispanic American Historical Review, LI (February, 1971), 112-27.

[3] For an analysis of English and Colonial U.S. attitudes toward New World Indians see Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America. A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1953). The classic

study of English-Anglo attitudes toward people of color is Winthrop Jordan. White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press /1968/). Although Jordan focuses on White-Black attitudinal relations, his book has serious implications for the history of Anglo-Chicano relations.

[4] Américo Paredes presents a slight variation on this theme. In summarizing one of the elements of the Anglo-Texas anti-Mexican legend, Paredes writes that Anglo-Texans traditionally assumed that "The degeneracy of the Mexican is due to his mixed blood, though the elements in the mixture were inferior to begin with. He is descended from the Spaniard, a second-rate type of European, and from the equally substandard Indian of Mexico, who must not be confused with the noble savages of North America." See Américo Paredes, "With His Pistol in His Hand." A Border Ballad and Its Hero (Austin: University of Texas Press, /1958/), p. 16.

[5] Cecil Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers. The Mexican in American Literature (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963), p. 26.

[6] Thomas M. Martínez, "Advertising and Racism: The Case of the Mexican-American," El Grito, II (Summer, 1969), 6-7.

[7] Gus Arriola, "Gordo," Riverside (California) Sunday Press-Enterprise, January 4, 1970.

[8] Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, Rise of the American Nation (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), pp. 3-4.

[9] Another major distortion in standard treatments of the Texas war for independence is the failure to note that many Mexicans fought and died for the Texas cause, including at the Alamo.

[10] Todd and Curti, Rise of the American Nation, p. 590.

[11] John W. Caughey, John Hope Franklin, and Ernest R. May, Land of the Free. A History of the United States (Pasadena, California: Franklin Publications, 1967), p. 418.

[12] Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1947); Lloyd Marcus, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961); Michael B. Kane, Minorities in Textbooks. A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies Texts (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

[13] For a more extended discussion of the possible bicultural uses of local historical materials see Carlos E. Cortés, "CHICOP: A Response to the Challenge of Local Chicano History," Aztlán, Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts, I (Fall, 1970), 1-14.

[14] A discussion of the Bolton Theory can be found in Lewis Hanke, ed., Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964).

[15] This should not be confused with Bolton's Greater America concept, which emphasized the common historical experience of the Americas. For a Chicano critique of the Bolton Theory, see Mario T. García, "The Bolton Theory and Chicano History," in Carlos E. Cortés and Pedro Castillo, eds., New Perspectives on Chicano History (forthcoming).

V

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY: THE CHALLENGE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

by

Manuel Ramírez III

Demands for institutional change emanating from recent school walkouts and demonstrations by Mexican-American students and parents in California and Texas have clearly established that cultural pluralism is one of the primary goals of the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement. Many Chicanos have come to see bilingual programs as vehicles for insuring that this goal becomes a reality.

These initial hopes, however, have in most cases given way to feelings of anger and disappointment. Observations of the past two years have revealed that many bilingual programs are falling short of the great mission that was envisioned for them. It has become obvious that most programs which are being implemented at the present time are based on the old cultural exclusion-cultural deficit model. For the most part many of these programs are still concentrating on changing the child to fit the system and thus rejecting his culture in the process. In many cases, the programs are being viewed as remedial or as temporary holding actions against the inevitable total acceptance of mainstream American middle class culture.

Bilingual education, then, has become a major battle in the struggle for equality of educational opportunity for Chicanos; indeed, for that of all minority groups in this country. The success or failure of bicultural-bilingual education may come to determine whether cultures whose values and life styles differ from those of the mainstream American middle class will be allowed representation in American education.

All four of the papers in this section concern themselves with this issue. The first paper by Dr. Atilano Valencia refers directly to bilingual education as critical to survival of the culture of La Raza. Dr. Valencia argues that survival of the culture is dependent on the survival of the language through implementation of bilingual programs. Commitment to the survival of the Mexican-American culture, he goes on to say, then means commitment to help insure the success of bicultural-bilingual education in this country.

Dr. Albar Peña views bilingual education not only as critical to the survival of the Mexican-American culture, but also as part and parcel of the movement for total educational reform. He warns that many of these programs may fail in this effort because all too many of the present programs are either very token or are not being given the support they need from school administrators, the teaching staff, and the community.

Dr. Mari-Luci Ulibarri argues that change must occur not only in those classrooms in which the bilingual curriculum is being implemented, but in the entire "ambiente" (environment) of the school. She argues that bilingual education is only a component of the more critical goal--cultural pluralism in education--and that it can serve as a bridge between the unacceptable and racist melting pot philosophy and the much more desirable ideology of cultural democracy.

My paper highlights guidelines (based on recent research data) for developing, implementing, and assessing cultural democracy in bicultural-bilingual programs for Mexican-American children. A good deal of emphasis is placed on the importance of making fundamental changes in curriculum and teaching strategies in order to insure that these are consonant with the unique learning and incentive-motivational styles of Mexican Americans. The author argues that these changes can allow Mexican-American children to maintain their identity with their ethnic group while they adopt the values and life styles of mainstream America--the primary concern of cultural democracy.

All four authors, then, are agreed that bilingual education is not an end in itself, but rather a means for achieving cultural democracy--respect for the Mexican-American child's language, culture and cognitive style and the assertion of his right to a bicultural identity.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: A QUEST FOR BILINGUAL SURVIVAL!

by

Atilano A. Valencia*

Introduction

Resistance to bilingual-bicultural education, one of the most dynamic of our contemporary educational thrusts, poses a unique challenge for the innovative and progressive-minded educator. This resistance, representing various shades of opposition, has been noted in various research studies on the topic of bilingualism and bilingual schooling.

In the early 1960's, when the first voices were raised in favor of introducing the child's first language as an instructional medium, the terms bilingualism and biculturalism required more precise definition.

The concept of developing the English-speaking ability of non-English-speaking American children has been an acceptable proposition. Federal funds for developing English as a Second Language programs to facilitate this process were extended to several agencies and institutions in the 1960's. Yet, the notion to introduce a language other than English as a medium of instruction in the Anglo-American curriculum has generated a multitude of concerns. Thus, bilingual-bicultural education has required discussion and definition to familiarize the general public with the meaning and rationale of this educational scheme.

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On April 13-15, 1967, several addresses on the topic of bilingual education were given at the Texas Conference for the Mexican American, sponsored by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, the Inter-American Education Center, and the Texas Educational Agency. In October 26-28th of the same year, at least two presentations at the "Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs" held in El Paso highlighted the need for bilingual education. Another series of conferences on this topic was conducted by the Southwest Council for Bilingual Education. One of the most recent conferences sponsored by this association, which produced a series of current articles on bilingual education, was held in El Paso in November 21-22, 1970.

Through the 1960's and 1970's numerous publications have cited the theme of bilingual-bicultural education. Among them are found the bilingual models of Mackey,[1] Andersson,[2] and Valencia.[3] The rationale and underlying priciples of bilingual education also are found in the writings of these contemporary authors and other advocates.

Today a sufficient literary base exists to provide interested readers with a fundamental understanding on this subject. In this sense, resistance to bilingual education because of a lack of definitive statements can no longer assume a valid stance.

Opposition to bilingual education has been expressed relative to the detrimental effects it may produce in early childhood development, particularly in reference to cognitive growth and the psychological well-being of the child. Research shows these effects to be either nonexistent or resulting from factors other than bilingual instruction. [4]

Bilingual-bicultural education must consider and incorporate the most recent and proven learning theories and practices. The assumption that bilingual education, in itself, will result in dramatic cognitive and psychomotor gains is erroneous. [5] However, if Spanish-speaking children are restricted from a multiplicity of processes in the learning scheme because of a language handicap, the school must provide the media of communication that corresponds to the children. Relatively recent research findings indicate favorable learning effects resulting from the utilization of the child's vernacular in the learning scheme at the same time he is learning to communicate in a second language. [6]

Yet, when the aforementioned facts are known, resistance toward bilingual and bicultural education takes another form.

The furtherance of bilingualism-biculturalism and the acceptance of cultural pluralism appears to be among the most sensitive concerns expressed by educators. Among the questions presented to advocates of bilingual education are: (1) that circumstances are given as rationale in selecting languages for instructional media, (2) if bilingualism is promoted and available to all children, what determines the second language available to the monolingual, English-speaking child, and (3) should the learning of Spanish be a requisite for the non-Spanish-speaking child of Chicano and other Latin American descent?

This paper represents the writer's position on bilingual-bicultural education, with particular reference to American children of Hispanic-Mexican heritage. And because of the dominance of the Spanish language in the Southwest, ranking second to English, Spanish is also featured as a potential and advantageous offer for the English-speaking person who desires to become bilingual.

Although our theme is on Spanish-English bilingualism, we are aware of the variety of American Indian dialects that are still in use. Where an Indian tribe permits the utilization of the tribal language in the school, bilingual education can incorporate English and an Indian dialect, to whatever degree it is feasible, as instructional media. This phenomenon has been realized among Navajo and Laguna Pueblo Indians in at least two schools in Grants, New Mexico.[7]

A Rationale for Bilingual Education

Postponement, retardation, or failure in learning occurs when the school's communication media is foreign to the learner. It would be illogical, with other factors being equal, to hypothesize greater cognitive gain in the second language as compared to the first. Thus one of the foremost underlying principles in bilingual education is based on the premise that the rapidity with which a child internalizes and applies concepts and skills is significantly related to language.[8] This further proposes that until the child is sufficiently functional in the second language to advantageously apply it in the learning process, the curriculum must be introduced in his first language.

A second principle in bilingual education is the long term advantages in furthering all of the communication skills of the first language, especially if the language is predominantly found in the speaker's own country and in other parts of the world.[9]

Another important feature in bilingual education relates to reinforcement of the child's positive attitudes toward his own cultural heritage.[10] It is conceivable that the omission or rejection of the child's language can produce an errosive effect on the first language and other native cultural elements.[11]

Finally, bilingual education offers an opportunity for monolingual children to become functional bilinguals. In addition to the academic and economic advantages thus opened to them, research shows that bilingualism has a relationship to favorable attitudes toward other cultural groups.[12] In a geographical area such as the Southwest, it is likely that greater understanding and relationship between non-Spanish-speakers and Spanish-speakers can be enhanced through increased bilingualism.

Bilingual Education Models

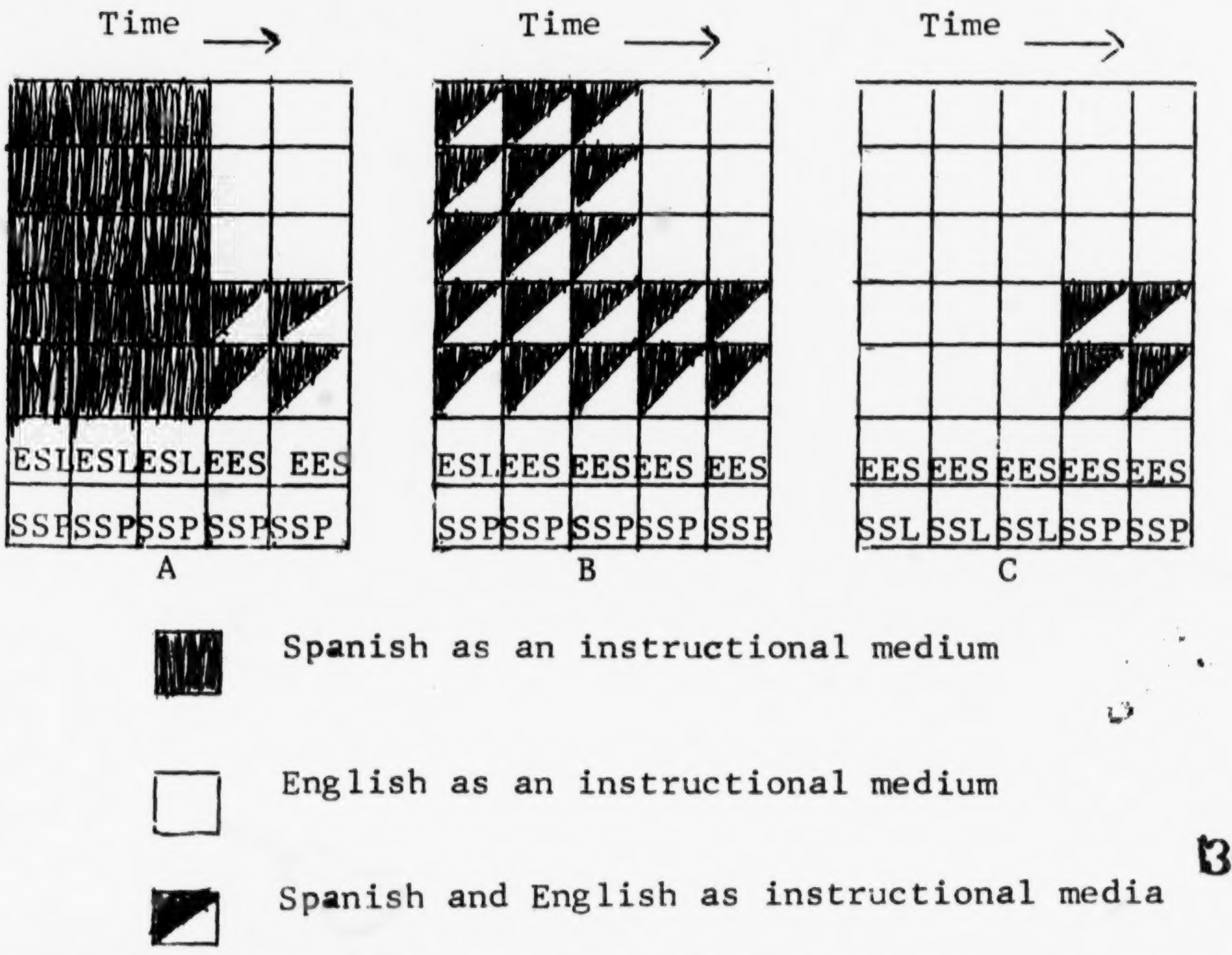
The bilingual education model selected for a given school population must correspond to the language proficiency levels of the students. The English speaking ability of Mexican-American children varies from zero to that of English-speaking, middle class Anglo children. In a similar respect, the Spanish speaking ability of Mexican-American children varies from zero to that of the (monolingual) Spanish-speaking Mexican. The latter phenomenon is found among Mexican-American children in American cities adjacent to the United States-Mexico border.

Variances in language dominance also are apparent at different income levels. For example, more English is found among middle income Mexican American families as compared to low income families.

Shifting from one language to another and word substitutions is a phenomenon of bilingualism. This type of linguistic practice is not uncommon among many Mexican-American children. Here, the school can play a significant role in increasing the repertoire of bilingual references among students with this type of bilingual background. Rather than attempting to eradicate the Spanish phonetic and structural features, the school can use this linguistic background to enrich the Spanish language component of these children.

The beginning point in Spanish or English language instruction for the Mexican-American child is dependent on his level of proficiency in both languages, based on the most comprehensive and proven instruments. The selection of Spanish or English, or both, in presenting the curriculum also is dependent on language dominance and degree of bilingualism. And rather than treating bilingualism as an educational handicap, it can be used advantageously in the learning process.

The bilingual models illustrated in Figure 1 allow for three types of language backgrounds. Model A is particularly applicable to the non-English-speaking, Spanish-speaking child. Model B is


Time
Time
Time
ESL ESL ESL EES EES
SSP SSP SSP SSP SSP
ESL EES EES EES EES
SSP SSP SSP SSP SSP
EES EES EES EES EES
SSL SSL SSL SSP SSP
A
B
C
Spanish as an instructional medium
English as an instructional medium
Spanish and English as instructional media

ESL	English as a Second Language
EES	English for English Speakers
SSP	Spanish for Spanish Speakers
SSL	Spanish as a Second Language

Figure 1

especially relevant to the Mexican-American or Latin American child with a duo-language base (mixture of Spanish and English). Model C may be used with Mexican-American children who speak little or no Spanish, but who have environmental references to the Spanish sounds. This model also incorporates Spanish as a second language for all non-Spanish-speaking children who desire to become Spanish-English bilinguals.

Bilingual instruction can be applied in various subject matter areas throughout the student's entire education. For example, Spanish may be used in the study of Latin American geography and history, the Hispanic world, the colonial Southwest, the Mexican-American people and Chicano contemprary thought.

The time to terminate the student's native language in favor of the second language across various subject matter areas is more realistically dependent on his readiness to apply the second language effectively in the learning process. Models A and B in Figure 1 are merely examples of terminating or phasing out points. Phasing out the native language in given curricula areas can be abrupt or gradual.[13] The foregoing illustration shows an abrupt termination in three subject matter areas, with a bilingual component (English and Spanish) continuing in at least two areas through subsequent schooling.

Students taking English as a Second Language eventually can move into an English for English Speakers program. The expectation in the English as a Second Language program is to develop the non-English-speaking student's English language proficiency equal to that of his English-speaking counterpart. In a similar respect, a non-Spanish-speaking student can move, at a stage of readiness, from a Spanish as a Second Language situation into a Spanish for Spanish Speakers program. In terms of a continuum, these language components would include all of the communication arts.

One or all of the aforementioned models may be offered in the same school system in accordance with the language needs of the school population.

Bilingual Education--A Vehicle for Bicultural Enrichment

Use of the child's native language to facilitate his learning process in the early school years has been accepted in most of the current bilingual programs under Title VII, Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The acceptance of a continuous Spanish language arts program through the child's schooling is also an unknown factor. The continuation or rejection of bilingual education by school districts after the termination of federal funds will become increasingly apparent in the next three years.

The attitude of school people and various segments of the general population toward the development and maintenance of bilingualism will require further investigation. Observations and interviews conducted by Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory researchers in New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas, Nebraska, and Illinois, show that attitudinal responses about bilingualism vary from unfavorable to favorable. Most favorable responses tend to appear among school personnel directly involved in the bilingual program. [14]

The underlying principle in most ESL (English as a Second Language) programs is to prepare the non-English-speaking child to function in English as quickly and efficiently as possible, and thus enable him to "negotiate" the Anglo-American curriculum where all instruction is presented in English. This objective does not depart from the traditional educational scheme to "mold" the child into an acceptable English-speaking American, rather than the school system doing the negotiating and accommodating the child's life style. The principal innovative feature found in present-day ESL programs is the awareness that learning English among our non-English-speaking American children requires different content, assessment instruments, and instructional strategies than those provided for the English-speaking child.

Utilizing the child's first language to learn subject matter until he has attained sufficient proficiency to "negotiate" the Anglo-American curriculum is based on the same underlying motive. It is expected that the child's first language will diminish in reference until it is completely phased out in the instructional program.

For centuries, non-English-speaking immigrants have filled our cities and surrounding lands. Traditionally our society and school system has demanded that to be American is to learn English as quickly as possible. As a consequence, the majority of these immigrants not only learned the American style of speaking English but discontinued their native languages and other customs.

Advocates of bilingualism and biculturalism contend that a truly democratic stance recognizes and accepts the practice of various languages and cultural elements in the American scene. An educational program should include an ESL program for students who need it. but it also can encourage the utilization of the child's first language in the learning process. The question now relates to the inclusion and continuation of a communication arts program in terms of enriching, maintaining, or perpetuating the language of a given (non-English-speaking) American cultural group. Spanish can be considered as a bilingual instructional component for the Chicano child, particularly in our Southwestern schools, and possibly for other children on an optional basis. The underlying rationale for selecting Spanish as a bilingual component is based principally on historical and cultural references found in our Southwestern region.

Historically, the Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest did not migrate into institutions established under an Anglo-American cultural base. The Southwestern colonial institutions were originally established under an Hispanic cultural system. And following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, immigrants from Mexico have found cultural elements in the Southwest compatible to their native culture. This, too, has tended to reinforce and perpetuate the Southwestern Hispanic-Mexican culture.

Whereas the European immigrant generally has found himself in an Anglo-American society, the early Anglo movement into the Southwest found an established Hispanic-Mexican society. And whereas the European immigrant found it necessary to quickly adopt Anglo-American cultural practices to operate and survive in his new environment, the Hispano-Mexican had learned to survive in the Southwest relative to his own cultural mores.

Generally, Chicanos have learned the language of the new culture (English) and have operated in varying degrees, in Anglo-American institutional settings, yet many have not discarded their native cultural references and practices. Today, Chicanos who find it practical and advantageous to operate bilingually and biculturally are proposing the institutionalization of bilingual-bicultural education in the American school system, especially in the Southwest where the Chicano and Indian cultures are still very much alive.

Does language prestige and dominance affect the perpetuation of a language in a society? Some researchers maintain that these are significant determining factors in the evolution and furtherance of languages.[15] Does the Chicano bilingual discontinue using Spanish due to the lower prestige given the language in some Southwestern geographical regions? While further research is required, the casual observer will find that, in general, the bilingual Chicano uses Spanish in situations where the language is a more effective medium than English. Specifically, this means that the bilingual Chicano will use Spanish in an Hispanic-Mexican cultural context where English fails to carry the full cultural flavor and meaning of the native expressions. Padrino, compadre, and abuelita carry a familial and affective dimension absent in the English terms godfather, sponsor, and grandmother. And the informal expressions "vato," "chanté," and "jale" all carry a meaning peculiar to the Southwestern Chicano. Whether a Chicano uses colloquial expressions or substitutes modern English terms for words not found in his sixteenth-century Spanish dialect, the structural component is is gramatically sound. Here, the Spanish language arts component of a bilingual program simply can extend the child's vocabulary so that a selection of synonyms are readily available in his

Spanish language repertoire.

Although language separatism in bilingualism may be viewed as desirable, especially when used with monolingual speakers of either language, a linguistic mixture of Spanish and English found among Chicano speakers can be regarded by bilingual educators as a linguistic advantage rather than a handicap in Spanish language development. Invariably, the child with this type of language background already possesses the Spanish structural and phonetic elements that facilitate the enrichment of his native language. It is unfortunate for the child that some well meaning school people, but bilingually and biculturally deficient, continue to discourage the use of Spanish by Chicano children. Even more detrimental for the child is the deficiency of these people in the comprehension of reinforcement principles, for eventually the Chicano child may completely reject any characteristics related to his cultural heritage.

Should cultural transformation result in complete acceptance of all Chicanos in the Anglo-American mainstream, the loss of native cultural identity may not be a serious phenomenon. However, advocates of bilingualism and biculturalism contend that this practice (bilingualism-biculturalism) provides greater assurance of group identity, self-esteem, and cultural pride in our present-day society.

The prestige of a language is relative to attitude. Where a culture is viewed as inferior, the language will be perceived in low esteem. Should the Chicano accept a negative perspective of his native language, he will, in essence, lend support to a self-defeating principle.

The aesthetic and expressionistic qualities of the Spanish language are emphasized in the Latin American countries. This linguistic mood also is found in contemporary Chicano poems, songs, dances, music, and plays. Young Chicano university students are recognizing and emphasizing the aesthetic flavor of the Spanish language coupled with the colloquial expressions that have evolved among the Chicano people.

It is conceivable that some day the American population may be completely monolingual and monocultural. Future generations may learn to live with the monotony of common linguistic sounds and cultural patterns. Yet, those of us in this generation who treasure cultural diversity can continue to reinforce this type of existence wherever it is found, for it is in the context of variety that a broader experiential background is achieved. Finally, the outcome of these experiences can serve as a preparatory base for finer relationships with other people and cultures in the larger world.

Bilingual education offers an opportunity for the school to enhance the enrichment of bilingualism among the Chicano population, as well as among the American Indian groups where native dialects are still used. Should the first language of these ethnic groups disappear, it is highly predictable that other native cultural elements also will vanish.[16] One hundred years hence a group of Spanish surnamed youngsters may find the phrase "Viva La Raza" inscribed on the wall of a twentieth-century building. By the year 2071, it is quite possible that "La Raza" as a culture will have died. A mission is before us--the survival of "La Raza" and its rich cultural base is highly dependent on the position we take today on bilingual-bicultural education.

FOOTNOTES

[1] William F. Mackey, "A Typology of Bilingual Education," paper prepared for a research conference conducted by Educational Systems Corporation under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, International Research Center for Bilingualism (Quebec, Canada, 1969), p. 26.

[2] Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, I (Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, January 1970), p. 19.

[3] Atilano A. Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Prospective Model in Multicultural America," TESOL Quarterly (December, 1969).

[4] Atilano A. Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Quest for Institutional Reform!" Spring Bulletin, Western Regional Desegregation Projects, University of California, Riverside, California, April, 1971, p. 11.

[5] Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Prospective Model in Multicultural America," p. 322.

[6] P. T. Orata, "The Lloilo Experiment in Education Through the Vernacular," The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, Monographs on Fundamental Education (UNESCO, 1953), pp. 123-131.

[7] Atilano A. Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education--An Effective Learning Scheme for First Grade Spanish-Speaking, English-Speaking, and American Indian Children in New Mexico," A Report of Statistical Findings and Recommendations for the Grants Bilingual Education Project (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, September, 1970), p. 4.

[8] Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education--A Quest for Institutional Reform!" p. 1.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[10] Ibid.

[11] J. Macnamara, "Bilingualism and Primary Education: A Study of Irish Experiences" (Edingburg: Edingburg University Press, 1966).

[12] Valencia, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education--A Quest for Institutional Reform!" p. 3.

[13] Ibid., p. 5.

[14] Atilano Valencia, "The Relative Effects of Early Spanish Language Instruction on Spanish and English Linguistic Development," An Evaluation Report on the Pecos Language Arts Program for the Western States Small Schools Project (Alburqueque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, February, 1970), pp. 44-47.

[15] Jacob Ornstein, "Sociolinguistics and the Study of Spanish and English Language Varieties ahd Their Use in the U.S. Southwest," State of the Art Paper submitted to the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March, 1970, pp. 48-51.

[16] Sabine R. Ulibarri, "La lengua: crisal de la cultura," en Capitulo 3, "El desarrollo de una lengua," de Español para El Bilingue by Marie Esmon Barker (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1971), p. 27.

CREATING POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

by

Albar A. Peña*

There are innumerable possible ways by which children who are culturally different or who have a different ethnic background can be educated effectively provided the many variables and factors involved are fully considered and viable approaches utilized. When one thinks about the educational needs of children who come to school not functioning well in the English language, the problem becomes one of great magnitude. What is the educational system prepared to do? Obviously, what has been practiced in the past, "adapting the child to the curriculum," has not been very effective, judging from the high percentage of functional illiterates that abound and the high dropout rate that appears on statistics available on this population. However, one approach that is currently being tried to meet the educational needs of these children is bilingual-bicultural education.

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Why is Bilingual-Bicultural Education a Viable Approach?

First of all, our schools at present are designed to produce and serve students patterned after a one-culture model. This monocultural attitude on the part of the school has traumatized bicultural children by either subtly or overtly forcing them to reject both their culture and their language. Secondly, the medium of instruction of our public schools still remains to be solely English, while it is a well known fact that the overwhelming majority of bicultural children have problems learning in English. This blind insistence has caused these children to be academically retarded and also has deprived them of the opportunity to learn what average children that age should know as compared to their English-speaking counterparts.

Hence, through the implementation of a bilingual-bicultural educational approach, the two detrimental factors cited above are attacked directly. In attacking the first, the cultural insensitivity, the educational system is made to realize that these children are bicultural rather than monocultural. A bilingual-bicultural program requires a commitment to the preservation of the minority culture. It requires that the community, both"Anglo" and non-English-speaking, support and participate in it. It also requires that the school administration and teaching staff make a full commitment to support and implement this support. Thus, a bilingual-bicultural program projects the children into an atmosphere of personal identification and self-esteem by providing mutual acceptance and respect for their cultural heritage, which eventually leads to their successful achievement in the academic arena. It teaches and practices appreciation of diversity in people, customs and beliefs, and gives the students a base for success in their field of work.

The second factor, the medium of instruction, is attacked by providing an opportunity to teach these children educational concepts in all phases of the curriculum in their dominant or native language while they are learning English. Therefore, the mandate of a bilingual-bicultural program is to be a total educational process, rather than a single component such as an English as a second language class where second languages are taught. Ability to communicate is central to mutual respect and understanding among diverse people.

In order for bilingual-bicultural education to succeed it must be implemented in an integrated setting which allows participation of both groups, minority group children from environments in which a dominant language is other than English and who are deprived of equal educational opportunity because of language barriers and cultural differences, and their English-speaking counterparts who come from educationally advantaged backgrounds. To foster cross-cultural learning, both ethnic groups should be mixed. Bilingual education must not be considered as a remedial program only applicable to the non-English-speaking population. Too often, school districts seize upon this interpretation for the purpose of isolating or segregating these students under the guise of bilingual education. This, of course, defeats the purpose of bilingual-bicultural education. If children are segregated for instructional purposes, both psychological and pedagogical disadvantages immediately set in. When we remove children from the classroom on the basis of language or cultural background, we mark them as different and set up a separation between the two groups, and remove the opportunities for language and cultural exchange and especially lose the chance for setting up peer teaching situations.

Bilingual education must be viewed as an asset, not a liability. Indeed, it may be the first desirable and attainable goal of a bilingual society which respects and fosters cultural pluralism. The two languages should be given equal status as symbols of both cultures.

Misconceptions about Bilingual-Bicultural Education

In recent years with the advent of bilingual education in the United States, school districts throughout the nation are being forced to examine their practices and policies that suppress cultural diversity and attempt to acculturate the culturally different into monocultural-monlingual individuals. Yet, this type of program is still widely misunderstood.

First of all, schoolmen, administrators as well as teaching staff, have failed to thoroughly research the field in order to adequately plan and implement a viable bilingual education program. Too often what bilingual education means to them is just teaching English as a second language to non-English-speaking children. Hence, the assumption is that if these children would just not speak Spanish and speak more English they would automatically do well in school. On the other hand, the assumption is that if their native language is to be used, it will only be used merely to translate those English words the children do not understand until their command of English is at a sufficiently high level that all subject areas can be learned in English. Let us remember, however, that the purpose of utilizing their native language or the language in which they function better is to help bicultural children learn concepts an average child their age should acquire. Thus, the bridging concept mentioned before is unacceptable. It must be understood that their native language as well as his culture must be maintained so that eventually they are able to function equally at ease in either language.

Secondly, the community, representative of both majority and minority cultures, is very seldom seriously involved in the actual planning or implementing of a bilingual education program in a particular school district. Unfortunately, community representatives of the minority culture have been so thoroughly indoctrinated that they believe the only remedy for the educational plight of their children is more concentration of English regardless of the symptoms. Consequently, the mere mention of some time devoted to a language other than English immediately brings about opposition from these parents against having their children involved in a bilingual-bicultural program.

Representatives from the majority culture, on the other hand, view bilingual education as a remedial program specifically designed for the non-English-speaking children. Ergo, they refuse to allow their children to participate, lest they be labeled as "handicapped children." The failure to realize that bilingual-bicultural education should be regarded as quality education for all concerned seems to be one of the greatest stumbling blocks that must be overcomed if the program is to succeed.

Thirdly, the teaching staff very often merely pays lip service to bilingual education by agreeing to participate in the program while at the same time utilizing the same old unsuited methodology or approaches to a literal translation of the English curriculum into the other languages. Let us remember that poor instruction is not improved when given in another language, it is just less conspicuous because there are those who understand so little of the language they cannot judge just how poor the instruction really is. As Thomas P. Carter so ably stated:

> There is danger that we may not understand all the ramifications of the meaning of bilingual education, assuming naively that it means little more than English as a second language. Once we have programs labeled bilingual-bicultural, organization may be forgotten. If this occurs, we may merely translate an inadequate English curriculum, laden with untruths, exaggerations, and nonfunctional values into the other language.

The Need for Changes in Attitudes

Having been involved for the past two years in administering Title VII, the Bilingual Education Program in the U.S. Office of Education, the above stated and the following are observations and impressions that must either be rectified or implemented if bilingual-bicultural education is to succeed in this country.

After many attempts on the part of school districts, either at local initiative or through federal support, to advocate and implement bilingual-bicultural education as part of the solution to the educational plight of our culturally and ethnically different population, I am firmly convinced that we must create positive attitudes towards this program in order to assure its unqualified success. This may be done by:

1. Insisting that school administrations, from school board, superintendent, to support personnel, lend full support to the bilingual-bicultural education being implemented within a

school district. They must accept the responsibility of thoroughly understanding the full concept of bilingual-bicultural education and insuring that this permeates down the chain of command to reach the very children they are purporting to serve. A full commitment must be made to insure that the necessary tax-levied funds are being earmarked for the quality education all students deserve, specifically if it is to be bilingual-bicultural education. Every effort must be exerted to have the necessary changes made, be it policy, curriculum, or materials adaptation, to support the efforts of those involved in carrying out the bilingual education program. Granted, in many cases this action may represent a radical departure from what has traditionally been tried, but the administration should stand behind those who are willing to give their time and resources to make sure that bicultural children are given every opportunity to succeed academically through this type of program.

2. Thoroughly informing the community affected that by admitting that bilingual-bicultural education is necessary, the schools are giving tacit admission that they have failed and are now willing to try whatever is necessary to rectify these shortcomings. The community, both majority and minority representatives, must be made aware of what bilingual-bicultural really is, how it works, and how the school district plans to translate this philosophy into a workable plan. The school district must not minimize the innumerable resources that

community members can provide in making a bilingual-bicultural program truly representative of their goals and aspirations. Community involvement must be present at all levels, such as planning, implementing, and evaluating of the bilingual-bicultural program being proposed. Most importantly, the community must be made aware of the true benefits of such a program to insure their full support, which is needed for success.

3. Insisting that the teaching staff be totally sensitive to the needs and learning styles of minority group children. Teachers must be made aware that their training has not been sufficiently adequate to apply the necessary methodology and approaches that is needed to insure bilingual education a success. Teachers must realize that they need additional training to present subject matter in a language other than English, as well as being thoroughly knowledgeable about first and second language learning and how to utilize the diversity of language ability as a learning tool. They need to realize how imperative it is to develop the capability to help all students understand and share the perspective of at least two cultures.

Only through this cooperative effort, at all the levels mentioned above, will misconceptions and misinformation about bilingual-bicultural education be dissipated. Today, this type of cooperation is still very sorely needed. Herein, lies the key to the success of the bilingual-bicultural education program.

In conclusion, let me reiterate, that obvious changes are needed to put into practice our convictions and aspirations of the bilingual-bicultural program. It should be a true commitment on the part of everyone that I have mentioned above, to realize institutions were established to serve individuals, and when these fail to serve the needs of individuals or groups of individuals they must be changed or replaced. We, then, have been given the opportunity to accomplish this very difficult but worthwhile goal--that of providing once and for all quality education for all children. Bilingual-bicultural education is only a beginning; it is only part of the solution, not a panacea. But bilingual-bicultural education is an excellent means by which to reach the end. It is a movement that represents a recognition of the absolute need to apply legal, political, economic and social pressure on the educational establishment in order to gain constructive change. Let us remember that all of us are under the scrutiny of accountability. Therefore, if bilingual-bicultural education is to succeed we must all be held accountable.

AMBIENTE BILINGÜE: PROFESSIONALS, PARENTS, AND CHILDREN

by

Mari-Luci Ulibarri*

After accepting an invitation to write a paper on bilingual education, I was shocked to see, when the invitation was confirmed in writing, that bilingual education and bicultural education had been separated into two parts in the program. While still on the phone, I was anticipating writing that bilingual education is obsolete. Instead, I planned to write on bicultural education.

During the last decade, this country's school systems have adopted one policy after another in an attempt to deal with the problem presented by the presence of "foreign" cultures in the classroom. Several of these policies have been known as bilingual education. A few years ago, students were reprimanded for speaking foreign languages in the classroom and even in the playground. This attitude change to a policy of "It is permissible to speak Spanish sometimes although not too loudly and only when you have to." Later it became popular to say that, two languages were taught in the classroom; usually the teacher-aid spoke Spanish, the "foreign" language. Next, some schools began to use two languages as the medium of instruction with content taught both in Spanish and English. Recently, the most progressive schools have begun the task of teaching two cultures, two distinct life styles to their students. This naturally must include proficiency in two languages. Language is a strong component, but only that, a component. Now I understand why it is necessary to say bilingual-bicultural education each time it is mentioned. If bilingual education were viewed merely as a component of bicultural education, it should not be necessary to redefine it each time.

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However, there are many who are not ready to accept this position. Recently a professor told me, "I agree that we should know two languages." She then added what is now fashionable to say, "I feel so disadvantaged because I do not speak Spanish. However," she elaborated, "when you continue saying that we must teach two norms of behavior, two separate role systems, it scares me. I don't think I can go that far."

This fear is the crux of the problem. This is why the term "bilingual education" has become a rather shallow term. It is perfectly acceptable to speak another language, even learn one in school, but everyone must behave "American." If this is the position we take, it shows that we do not value cultural diversity, that we are not committed to cultural democracy. Cultural democracy should mean that cultures coexist with total integrity for each cultural group.

In retrospect, I am happy that the symposium does separate bilingual and bicultural education. It gives us an opportunity to see what bilingual education, the watered-down version of bicultural education, can and cannot do. Biculturalism implies much more than bilingualism.

Biculturalism indicates knowing and being able to operate successfully in two cultures. This means a biculturate has internalized two modes of behavior. He has two sets of roles at his disposal because he knows, is committed to, and has internalized the beliefs, values, customs, and mores of two different peoples. When the biculturate finds himself in a situation where the roles he has learned are in conflict, he will be able to rationally determine which set of values are best applied to which setting.

Bilingualism has been defined in a variety of ways, but perhaps the most commonly accepted definition is the use of two languages with varying degrees of understanding and proficiency. At its worst, all the references of the bilingual user are in his native culture regardless of which language he is speaking. At best, he is conscious that native speakers of his second language feel differently about some things although he does not quite understand them and has no emotional commitment to them.

Bilingual education is merely one more of the vehicles being used by that segment of society which advocates acculturation. It has led the way down the primrose path to the "melting pot." Many people in the Chicano movement see it as a tool being used by the educational system to side-step the idea of the damaged self-concept. Chicanos complained loudly that the English-speaking educational system was destroying the Spanish-speaking students' positive self-concepts. We clamored that the students' native language should become legitimate in the learning process. We said that our students were not prepared culturally or psychologically to abruptly enter a world of different feelings and thought. The educational system responded to these problems with simplistic solutions. It pressured a few, but by no means all teachers to study the students' culture. The superficial knowledge that some acquired, however, merely became a way to facilitate the students' progress in learning both the culture and the language of the teacher.

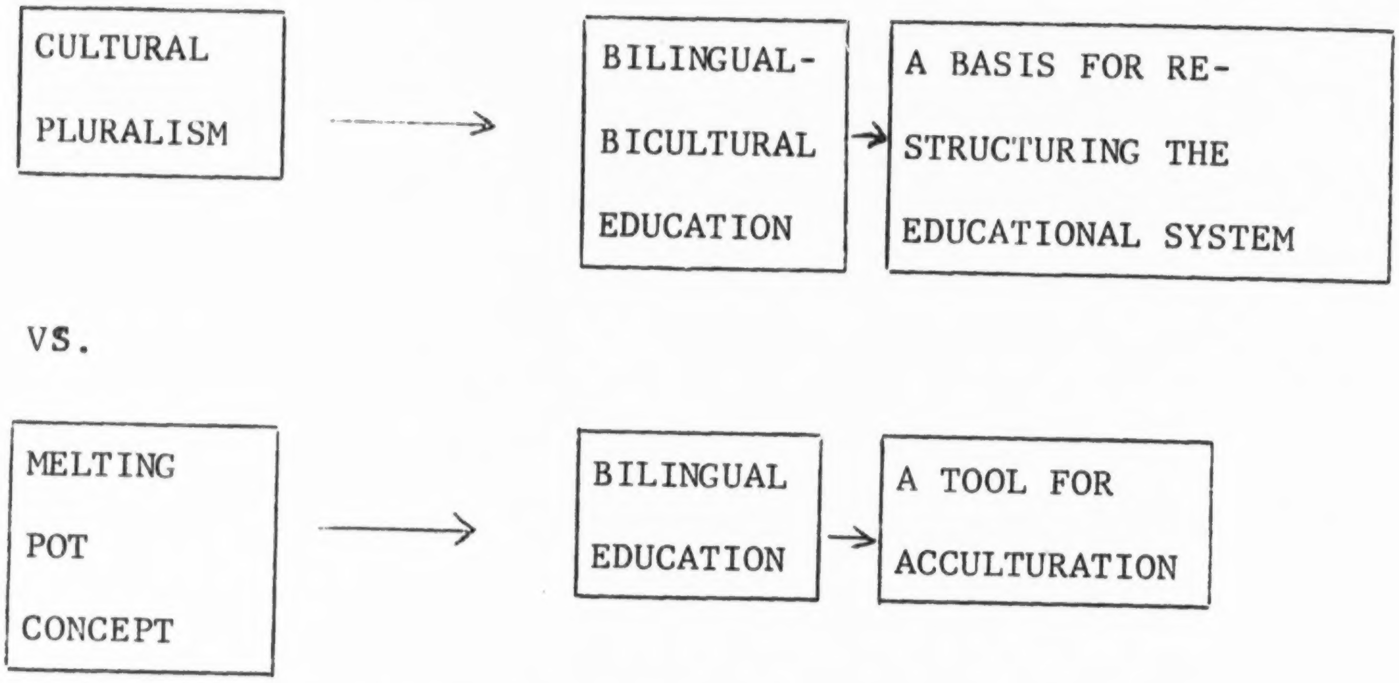
The system did not really change. It just found a way to satisfy a few people. Did the system truly believe and actively demostrate that the Mexican-American students come from a "respectable culture, are worthy individuals and can succeed?"[1] I think not.

The educational system realized that the students' cognitive development should be continued in his native language while learning a second language. It also conceded that an attempt should be made to avoid the trauma a child must undergo when he finds himself in a world where his language and culture are suddenly denied. But what real organizational change was made in the system?

I do not wish to imply that these concessions are unimportant. They were badly needed and helped many of our youngsters. But these remedies are not enough in a great land such as ours where we believe in equal educational opportunity and cultural democracy. In relation to that dream, bilingual education per se is tokenism. Bilingual education becomes another of the many early education remedies. The student is always wrong by implication. He must be remade to fit the system; he must be helped to meet with success in the system as it now exists. Whether they may speak Spanish with permission or are taught Spanish as a formal class, bilingual education is still basically a language program. Whether the remedy is given to them at pre-school age or at six years of age is almost immaterial. It is still based on the idea that the Spanish speaker has a "language problem." It is a much bigger problem. It cannot be met without basic changes in philosophy and action. Bilingual education is another trick of the educational system to stall for time in order to perpetuate the status quo. It is much less work and effort to make concessions within the existing framework than to change it.

Chicanos have a life style that we want to preserve. The school system should actively promote this ideal. Education must recognize the need to restructure the educational program around a different cultural ambiente. It is not enough to create bilingual education programs in the primary levels of elementary schools. It will not be enough to place these types of programs at all grade levels, even in high schools and universities. Bilingual education, as it now exists, can be used to advantage if used as the basis for restructuring the system. Starting with the goal of cultural pluralism and all the ramifications it has for changing our society, bilingual education is the natural stepping stone to be used while the educational system is being revamped.

This would be the opposite use of bilingual education as contemplated by the melting pot theorists. This latter school of thought still views bilingual education as a tool of acculturation. It helps overcome the horrible damage to the concept of self. It certainly softens the inevitable blow of the acculturation process; it makes it almost painless. When the "melting" is all over, most vestiges of cultual heritage will be gone even if the students can speak Spanish.


CULTURAL PLURALISM
BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION
A BASIS FOR RE-STRUCTURING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
VS.
MELTING POT CONCEPT
BILINGUAL EDUCATION
A TOOL FOR ACCULTURATION

Bilingual education usually concentrates on teaching languages and manages to have units of study on the Mexican American (however, when it teaches culture, it begins to be bicultural education). In the early grades it is usually devoted to the music, dance, food, and something about the home. But in most of the home units, the concept of family translates to familia. They seem the same. Family usually refers to father, mother, and children. Familia, however, consists of family and others--compadres, padrinos, aunts, uncles, cousins, and all other loved ones that surround us. People do not have to be related by blood or marriage to be familia. Even if not completely bicultural in orientation, a truly bilingual program capitalizes on these differences and produces real bilingual students. Certainly bilingual education is good because it satisfies a psychological need of the moment. To hear and study his own language must help the student tremendously. But can we afford to stop there?

Although this paper is limited to early education, one cannot help but mention a few of the possibilities bilingual education may have for older students. The challenge of bilingual education is not only different for older students but has direct implications for both rural and urban education. For rural youth and Mexican citizens who have recently arrived in the city, crash courses conducted bilingually might help them economically. However, bicultural education should be offered to them on a long term basis. [2] Perhaps bilingual education can help these people with other social agencies. But it should only be a "help" while these people are entering the economic mainstream. Bicultural education should continue.

Urban youth know more of the roles of the Anglo. Perhaps the challenge of bilingual education is different there also. The language conceivably helps him better his plight. It behooves bilingual education to teach the student the new language painlessly.

The challenges remain. How is the child's native language used? How is it treated in the classroom? Is the teacher-aid the only one using it? How can a language have prestige if the professionals use only a chosen one? Can bilingual education instill pride in these youngsters? How is the second language presented? Does it get more attention or less than the native one? Does it enjoy equal prestige? How will the second language help the students?

Bicultural education is the only bonafide option education has today if it is to meet its commitment of the education for all people. It is the bridge needed from the defunct melting pot theory to be the ideal of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism should be synonymous with bicultural programs; it cannot be any other way. Any other approach will be doomed to failure. It will merely be a "band-aid approach." Bicultural education means redoing the system.

Lest one think that this basic revision needs to be done for the Chicanos' benefit only, Richard Alexander has said it is a major area of concern for everyone. He thinks that one of the goals of education should be "The education of young people with international and intercultural frames of reference, with the hope of developing citizens better equipped to live in the world of the 1970's and even more hopefully to live in the dynamic and emerging world of the coming twenty-first century." [3] He continues, "Our youngsters come away . . . with conceptions that people and things foreign are strange, inferior, and less desirable." [4] "Our schools have not generally fostered social pluralism." [5]

The role of the teacher in bilingual education programs as they now exist, poses other challenges. Can we be guaranteed an excellent job in bilingual education programs by teachers who are merely bilingual, or is it necessary that these teachers be bicultural? Is it enough that they simply have an understanding, but no commitment to the culture? Kuckhohn has said, "The education of Spanish-American children can only be accomplished effectively by teachers who perceive the world of these children through the cultural screen of the children. . ." [6] Perhaps if the teachers in bilingual programs are bicultural, they can fulfill this need. Maybe team-teaching by Spanish monolingual and English monlingual teachers could be coordinated well enough to produce this desired effect. Research is needed to refute or substantiate this approach.

Davidson has called attention to another challenge. He has said, "It will be necessary to restore to dignified status the Spanish language itself. . . To deny the merit of the language overtly by educational decrees or covertly by indifference, innuendo, or ridicule--is a denial of the culture and the individual. And it is the individual who really matters in the long run." [7] Other than using it, how much more can be consciously done in programs that are not bicultural to restore the language to its proper place?

One also hears much about parental involvement in bilingual education programs. Can these programs involve parents? Perhaps, but it is a challenge. We will have to change the philosophy that we now have that we must "teach" parents. We will have to change the attitude that parents do not know how children learn. We will have to treat parents as the experts they are. They may not know the educational jargon about learning--but they know much they haven't been given credit for in the past. We cannot talk of parents as one group. They have different philosophies and attitudes and as such will influence the students in different ways. Some carry the deep scars of discrimination. Will bilingual education programs be able to change attitudes toward school of those parents who are caught in the vicious death grip of poverty? Some of them believe that if their offspring learn English, even forget their Spanish, the child's life will be better. Are we prepared to tell them that knowing English does not hinder but it does not guarantee a job? We must trust the parent as if he is the person most concerned and responsible for the child's best interest. We should be frank with the parent and not diguise information or perceive oneself as the person most interested in the child's welfare. Do we have the tools to convince parents that bilingualism is now an asset instead of a problem? Can those of us in bilingual education learn to understand and listen to parents? If we cannot, some of the reinforcement at home will continue to be negative. Have people in bilingual programs been taught how to talk with parents? In most regular teacher training classes we certainly have not. In calling attention to these last-mentioned needs, we are entering the family level--even if it is called a bilingual program. Somehow, we disenfranchise the parents, perhaps because of their limited education, perhaps because they have no political power. These areas are within the realm of the challenge of bilingual education.

Another challenge of bilingual education and certainly one of the most important, is the student. Is the bilingual education program geared to accept and understand the students' Spanish, or is it going to degrade it and say it is a dialect and cannot really be used? Eventually we should lead students to a "standard" language, but is it necessary in the early years? We must find the right time to make that transition.

If we are concerned only with languages, are we going to accept the students' behavior if it is different from the behavior "expected" in the classroom? Are teachers in bilingual education projects prepared to distinguish between behavior attributable to the culture of poverty and those that are based on cultural diversity? These are the real challenges of bilingual education. What more do we need to know about students if bilingual education is going to produce happy, well-adjusted, knowledgeable individuals?

A major challenge is the total school ambiente. If the bilingual program is to be successful, it must permeate the total school. The program cannot be confined to the four walls of one classroom. It cannot be an isolated project. As children step out into the corridor, they are met with the school compliance ambiente. It must be the same as that which exists in the classroom or all is lost. The program's influence must extend beyond the classroom. All adults, both teachers and administrators, should exhibit the cultural plurality that they teach. It is possible to visit a school without meeting the students and still know what they are like. The teaching materials, types of classes, activities available for students, teaching personnel and their training, parental involvement, etc., all should reflect the personality of the student body. Whether or not a school has bilingual-bicultural students will show plainly.

Perhaps we will become knowledgeable enough to meet the challenges of bilingual education. And if we do, is that enough? Are we not dedicated to cultural democracy and is that possible without bicultural education?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Mari-Luci Ulibarri, "Cultural Differences Revealed Through Language" (Albuquerque: The Minority Group Cultural Awareness Center, University of New Mexico, 1970).

[2] For an excellent description of cultural allegiance groups in the Chicano community, read: Tom Arciniega's unpublished paper, "The School-Organizational Response to the Mexican-American Student-Client" (El Paso: University of Texas, 1971).

[3] Richard T. Alexander, Jr., "Foreign Study and the World-Minded Teacher" (Muncie, Indiana: The Fourth in the 1969-70 Ball State University Faculty Lecture Series), p. 2.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 2.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 5.

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (Whittlesey House, 1969), p. 11.

[7] Ned J. Davidson, "Spanish and New Mexico," *New Mexico School Review*, September, 1966.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AS A VEHICLE FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE [1]

by

Manuel Ramírez III*

The Bilingual Act brought to the Chicano community the hope that bilingual programs would be instrumental in changing the educational system's philosophy for educating Mexican-American children. For far too long educational programs developed for Chicanos had been based on the culture-is-damaging model. That is, the assumption that Mexican-American culture interferes with the intellectual and emotional development of Chicano children. Witness, for example, the rationale of one such program: "Mexican-American children are *deficient* in both Spanish and English, have little experience in manipulating objects, and have little sense of time as an ordered sequence of events." [2]

It was this culture-is-damaging belief that led the educational system to adopt a cultural exclusion approach to the education of Chicanos, and led to their interpretation of the melting pot philosophy as a mandate for erradication of the Chicano child's identity with his ethnic group.

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The current wave of enthusiasm and interest in bilingual education, then, would see to indicate that bilingual programs are playing a major role in helping to rid ourselves of damaging cultural exclusionist practices of our schools. Most of these programs, however, are failing badly in their mission. They have either been swallowed up or accommodated by the system. Central to this failure is the fact that the rationale of most of these programs ignore the importance of the struggle to replace the melting pot-cultural exclusion philosophy of education with that of cultural democracy, the right of the child to be educated in the learning style which he brings with him to school and his right to develop a bicultural identity (to maintain his identity with the Chicano ethnic group while he adopts mainstream American values and life styles).

Evidence that bilingual programs presently being implemented are not making significant changes in the basic approach c the educational system to Chicano children can be found in two recent publications, Anderson and Boyer's Bilingual Schooling in the United States and John and Horner's A Handbook on Early Childhood Bilingual Education.[3] To begin with, both of these books fail to mention the major role which Chicanos such as Dr. George Sanchez played in establishing bicultural-bilingual education in this country (a perfect example of cultural exclusion). Furthermore, the bilingual programs reviewed in these two books, as well as others which have been reviewed by the author,[4] suffer from major weaknesses when evaluated with reference to the criterion of institutional change. The current programs are overly concerned with the superficialities of bilingual education, whether English and Spanish ought to be taught concurrently; whether it is best to teach Spanish by repetition of prescribed sentence patterns or by free verbal expression; whether Pancho Villa and Joaquin Murrieta ought to be included in the heritage curriculum. Very few bilingual programs actually concern themselves with teaching strategies. This is a serious oversight, particularly since a recent study by Jensen[5] has shown that inappropriate teaching methods are the prime cause of the depressed performance of Mexican-American children in the schools. Another indicator of involvement with the superficialities of bilingual education is the concern of many of these programs with having Chicano children perform well on outmoded and prejudiced evaluation instruments. This results in many of these programs being molded after the tests. What a perfect example of adjusting to the system. One gets the feeling that the operation will be a success, but that the patient will not survive.

Still another indicator of the impotence of these programs is their tendency to ignore the diversity which exists among Chicano children, and which has been so aptly described by

Valencia in his paper, Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Prospective Model in Multicultural America, (1969). [6] One usually finds the personnel of one program trying to convince those of other programs that what they are doing is best for Chicanos, as if Chicano children had the same needs and similar experiences throughout the country. This is puzzling because even within small communities in the Southwest research has identified wide differences between Chicano barrios in the same community. [7] How can it be claimed that a bilingual program which is successful in San Antonio, Texas, can be equally successful in Riverside, California? Again we are in danger of missing the point. It should be obvious that the exact content of programs cannot possibly be transfered from one community to another; only process can be transplanted and altered to fit the unique needs of each specific community. Let us stop looking for the perfect bilingual program while the major struggle passes us by. Most so-called successful bilingual programs are usually ready for the museum when they become a finished product; the price they pay for losing sight of the important issues in the Chicano community. These "museums" are grim reminders of the real task before us; we must view bilingual programs not only as providing opportunities for introducing the Spanish language, Mexican history, and Mexican-American history into the system, but as vehicles for restructuring that system to insure the academic survival of Chicano children and the political and economic strength of the Chicano community.

Although the previously mentioned shortcomings are serious, the greatest single weakness of all these programs is that their components are not based on research data relative to the psychodynamics of Mexican-American children and their parents. This is critical because these data give indications as to how the system must be changed in order to make it more responsive to the learning styles and interpersonal relational styles of Chicano children. These findings are as follows:

1. In motivational orientation Chicano children score higher in the area of achievement for the family than do children of other ethnic groups.[8] This indicates need for changing the very strong achievement for self-orientation which is so typical of many schools.

2. The identity of many Chicano children is very closely tied to their families, thus suggesting that they will achieve well in school when their parents are actively involved in the educational process.[9] This necessitates a closer working relationship between school personnel and Chicano parents than one finds evident in most schools with big Mexican-American populations.

3. Most traditional Chicano children are more sensitive to the human environment and have more interest in curriculum materials which have human content rather than those which are

abstract and impersonal. This suggests changes for instructional styles of teachers and development of curriculum materials, particularly in the areas of science and math.

4. Mexican-American children achieve better than children of other ethnic groups when the atmosphere in which the task is conducted is cooperative rather than competitive.[10] The learning environment of classrooms in schools should then become less competitive and more cooperative.

5. Mexican-American children achieve higher scores on fantasy productivity (yield longer and more complex stories to picture cards) than children of other ethnic groups. This finding has implications for altering teaching styles and for the development of classroom atmosphere and curriculum materials.

6. Mexican-American children, in general, have a more field-dependent cognitive style orientation. This differs from that of most teachers, indicating that teachers are teaching in a style which does not reach Chicano children, are reinforcing with rewards which are inappropriate to most of these children, and are utilizing curriculum which does not capture their interest or build on their unique learning styles. This finding has implications for the need of evaluating teachers to determine what their cognitive style is in relation to that of their students, and then for training to insure that teachers can teach and relate well to all the children in their classrooms.

If we ignore research data such as these in developing and implementing bilingual programs, we are setting up instructional systems which are obsolete before they get going. We are also easy prey to the traps of the culture-is-damaging model in developing educational programs for Mexican-American children. One of the striking features of most bilingual programs now in operation is that they are all based on what they consider to be weaknesses of the Mexican-American child; strangely enough very few are looking for weaknesses in the system. In proposals for Title I and Title VII programs, one frequently finds statements like "Mexican-American children cannot think abstractly, they are not motivated to learn, they are non-verbal, they have little experience with learning, they can speak neither English nor Spanish well,"--what nonsense.

This analysis of the current status of bilingual education indicates that to be effective in the struggle for cultural democracy, bilingual programs must focus on three areas. Each of these can give guidance for instituting appropriate changes in the system. The following are approaches we have been developing through the Bicultural-Bilingual Follow Through Model at the University of California, Riverside.[11]

I. Active Parent Involvement--and active in this case, does not mean having them accompany the class on field trips, observe in classrooms, cook for the school festivals, and perform janitorial tasks. It should be recognized that Chicano parents are the representatives of the language and culture which should be implemented through bilingual programs; more importantly they represent the teaching styles which are compatible with the learning styles of Chicano children. Chicano parents, then, should be involved as teacher trainers and instructors. In the Bicultural-Bilingual Follow Through Model at UCR we have been experimenting with the following approaches for parent involvement:

A. Spanish as a Second Language for Teachers--parents are remunerated to serve as teachers of Spanish for non-Mexican-American teachers. The lessons are geared to teach vocabulary of the classroom, communication and relational styles which Mexican-American children are exposed to in the home, and values of Mexican-American culture. The object of this component is three-fold: (1) to make monolingual teachers effective in a bilingual classroom (although more and more Chicano teachers are entering the job market, there are still not enough of them available to meet the needs), (2) to sensitize teachers to Chicano culture, teaching styles, relational and communication styles, and (3) most important of all, to make parents partners in the educational process; to effect a closer relationship between the barrio and the school. Our results with the SSLT component have been very gratifying. We have found that negative stereotypes which Anglo Teachers and Mexican-American parents held of each other have broken down, and that a sense of excitement tends to develop out of their experience of working together. The language instruction also goes both ways--with Mexican-American parents learning English as well.

B. Chicano parents involved in solving the problems of the barrio are hired by the model to sensitize teachers to Mexican-American culture. This is done with a Peace Corps-type training approach; teachers work under community people in the local poverty agency in the barrio, the Day Care Center, the summer Headstart program, etc. The objective here is to move away from the typical passive approach to acquainting teachers with the Chicano community, i.e., lectures, readings, films, the bus tour of the barrio, and get them to actually experience what the people there are thinking and feeling and the problems they encounter daily. This approach also seeks to dispel negative stereotypes of the barrio (i.e., this is a place where your tires get slashed, where drug addicts are roaming the streets, etc.). In many cases we have found that teachers and other school personnel have a phobia of the barrio which permeates their relationships to Chicano parents, Mexican-American teachers' aides, and Chicano children. We must overcome and destroy these stereotypes and fears, only in this way can we get teachers to realize that the culture-is-damaging philosophy is inappropriate.

C. Parents are also remunerated for teaching at home and at school, and for helping to develop heritage curriculum for the program. Parents have a very rich Chicano and Mexican oral history; they have knowledge of folk tales, songs, dances, etc. It is a crime that Mexican-American children in many communities have been made to feel by the schools that they are ahistorical, that their parents and grandparents have not contributed to the development of the Southwest. We can correct this by asking parents to contribute resource materials for the heritage curriculum.

Approaching parents on heritage materials, we have found, is a good avenue for enlisting their help in teaching other aspects of curriculum as well. In conjunction with this, a home instructional program has been instituted. This involves having community aides take educational toys, books, and specially prepared curricular units into the home (these deal with the same concepts which children are learning in the classroom). The community aides demonstrate these to the parents, then leave them at home so that the parents might use them with their children. The units are bilingual; we have found them most useful in dispelling fears and apprehensions which both Anglo and Chicano parents have of bilingual-bicultural programs. Once they begin to participate actively, parents see the great value of Spanish as a medium of instruction; this results in their using more Spanish at home with their children. The home instructional program also contains units on the administrative structure of the schools. informing parents as to the roles of different school personnel and the different programs which their children are participating in (children in one family may be enrolled in a Title I, Title VII, and the Follow Through Program). We have also found that units dealing with possible value conflicts which might occur because of differences in values in life styles between Anglo and Chicano cultures have allowed parents to articulate fears of, and resentments towards, school which they could not express before.

II. Culture matching curricula and teaching styles should be another major area of focus for institutional change.

A. Culture Matching Teaching Strategies are a series of teacher behaviors which were arrived at through research on teaching approaches of Mexican-American mothers and the teaching atmosphere of the Chicano home and neighborhood. The following are examples from the CMTS:

1. Extent to which teacher uses Spanish in the classroom--teachers and aides are encouraged to use

Spanish not only when the curriculum is being presented in Spanish, but throughout the day, and particularly when they are giving verbal reinforcement to the children so that both Anglo and Chicano children may come to associate positive feelings with the Spanish language.

2. Extent to which teacher personalizes--encouragement is given to have teacher introject her own personality (in terms of past experiences into her teaching strategy, and, in addition, to have the teacher incorporate information she knows about the child's life style into this same strategy. An example of the latter can be use of information she has on the child's family or the child's favorite games and toys. For example, in teaching concepts of size she might say, "Now, this cylinder is little like your baby brother and this one is big like your father." An example of the former could be relating an anecdote from the teacher's life which adds interest and gives a personal touch to the curriculum she is presenting.

3. Achievement for the family--teacher encourages the child to achieve so that his parents will be proud of him. She invites parents into the classroom and also goes to the homes to demonstrate what the child has achieved. The child is rewarded with materials which can be shared with

other family members and is encouraged to use them for teaching younger sibs.

4. Cultural highlighting--extent to which teacher refers to Chicano and Mexican culture throughout the school day, and even in aspects of the curriculum which might have no direct relevance to heritage. There are constant reminders for the child that he is justified in being proud of his heritage and that the values of his home and neighborhood can be part and parcel of the instructional atmosphere of the classroom.

These and other behaviors are contained in a classroom observation instrument. The teacher is given a tally for each of the behaviors she uses within several ten second periods of observation. The teacher is also videotaped as she teaches her lesson. Upon completion of the observation period, observer and teacher review the videotape and the CMTS rating form to see where she used or failed to use the different strategies.

The main purpose of the CMTS is to have teachers focus on the child's uniqueness and to acknowledge that the heritage and past learning experiences of Chicano children should be recognized in the classroom. The intention here is not to make generalizations about all Chicano children, but to give teachers a technique for conceptualizing the unique learning styles of many Chicano children.

B. We have the same goal in mind when we emphasize that the content and structure of curriculum should reflect a field dependent learning style. Research with Witkin's concept of field dependence-independence[12] has shown that learning and relational styles of Chicano children are more field-dependent than those of Anglo children. This means that Chicano children, in general, respond best to teachers who demonstrate a personal interest in them; to social reinforcement; to curricular materials which have human content and relate to their personal experiences and which are presented through a story-telling approach. This approach concentrates on personalizing and humanizing curriculum--to see that the content of the curriculum reflects information on the child's family, his neighborhood, his interests. It also provides an opportunity for the teacher to project her own experiences, feelings, and interests. The object is not to create a curriculum which is consonant with the learning styles of all Chicano children, but to acquaint teachers with the process of altering commercially available material, and developing other materials which can be tailored to the learning and relational styles of the particular Chicano children in her classroom. Emphasis is also placed on the medium through which the curriculum is presented. Concepts are taught through stories containing a good deal of drama, suspense, and incidents of heroism.

C. Another change we have made in the curricular area is the inclusion of Chicano and Mexican heritage materials. Important heroes and events in Mexican-American and Mexican history are paired with those in Anglo history. The aim is to establish a positive bicultural self-image in Chicano children, and a positive view of Chicanismo on the part of Anglo students, parents, and teachers.

In addition to the above materials, we have also developed family studies contrasting the values of the Chicano with those of the Anglo family: the message here is that although values and life styles differ, both are equally acceptable. Units on Latin American Indian groups emphasize achievements in government, philosophy, the arts and sciences to dispel negative stereotypes of Indians. Incidents which are significant to the Chicano Civil Rights Movement such as the grape strikes, the boycotts, and the school walkouts are also included. One of the main goals of the curriculum is to show that Mexicans and Mexican Americans have made great contributions to the development of the Southwest which are presently reflected in the bicultural-bilingual environment which surrounds us.

III. The third major focal point for institutional change is in the area of selection of criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of bilingual programs. Major concern should not be on how Chicano children perform on prejudiced and outmoded tests of academic achievement. More emphasis should be given to the degree of ethnic pride exhibited by these children, and to the degree which Anglo students and teachers view the Spanish language and Chicano culture positively. Programs based on the cultural exclusion philosophy have produced negative self-images in many Chicano children and also have maintained and reinforced the negative stereotypes of Chicano culture held by Anglo students, parents, and school personnel.

At UCR[13] we have been developing a classroom observation technique which allows us to evaluate ethnic pride. It focuses on the following behaviors of children:

A. Speaks Spanish willingly--(1) speaks Spanish spontaneously in and out of the classroom, (2) does not hesitate to respond in Spanish or at least makes an attempt to do so when addressed in Spanish, (3) takes the initiative in speaking Spanish with others, (4) helps adults and other children learn Spanish in the classroom (that is, he helps the teacher and tutors other children), and (5) enjoys lessons in Spanish.

B. Does not reject other Mexican Americans as peers--this is another general category of pathological behaviors created by an educational system fostering cultural exclusion which causes Chicano children to reject members of their own ethnic group. Behaviors we look for in this category are (1) joins in activities with other Mexican-American children, (2) speaks favorably of other Mexican-American children, and (3) helps and tutors other Chicanos willingly, and seeks to befriend Chicano children rejected by other class members.

C. In line with not rejecting Mexican Americans as friends, we also believe that ethnic pride means that he does not limit his friendships exclusively to Chicano peers. We look for the child's willingness to interact with children who are not of Mexican descent in this category. An undemocratic system creates ethnic isolationism.

D. Acknowledges Mexican-American culture--(1) the child talks about Mexican holidays and Mexican and Mexican-American heroes, (2) he enjoys role playing, the Chicano heritage lessons, (3) he enjoys doing Mexican dances or participating in Mexican games, (4) he listens attentively to stories, classroom activities related to Chicano culture, and (5) he brings culturally distinct toys, foods, and objects from home.

E. Show self-respect--(1) he expresses and demonstrates confidence in his ability to master tasks, (2) he takes pride in his family by mentioning family activities and family members in class, and (3) he identifies himself as Chicano or Mexican American.

Ethnic pride should become the final test of the degree to which bilingual programs are resulting in significant institutional change. When ethnic pride in Chicano students is low and there is a negative view of Chicano culture on the part of Anglo teachers, parents, and students, this should be an indication that the program is either very token or based on the culture-is-damaging model.

The critical issue in the struggle for equality of educational opportunity for Chicanos is not bilingual education but cultural democracy reflected in institutional change to create educational programs which are consonant to the values and life styles Chicano children bring with them to school. This is portrayed in the model below:

	Teaching Styles of Chicano Mothers		Cognitive Styles of Chicano Children	
Values and life styles of Mexican-American Culture →	Child rearing styles	→	Learning, communication incentive--Motivational and relational styles	→

Goals for Institutional Change	Criterion for Achievement of Goals
Parent involvement, Culture matching curricula and	Ethnic pride a bicultural identity

Teaching strategies,
Attitudes of non-Mexican-
American students and school
personnel toward Chicanos and
Chicano culture

The end goal must be the acceptance of the philosophy of cultural democracy by the educational system--the assertion of the right of Chicanos to be taught in the teaching styles of their homes and neighborhoods and the right to maintain their identity with Chicanismo as they adopt the values and life styles of mainstream America.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Ideas for this paper have emanated from work on the Follow Through Bicultural-Bilingual Model at University of California, Riverside. The author is deeply indebted to his colleagues in this endeavor--Norah Alemany, Fred Estrada, Les Herold, Janet MacCaulay, and Regina Richards.

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